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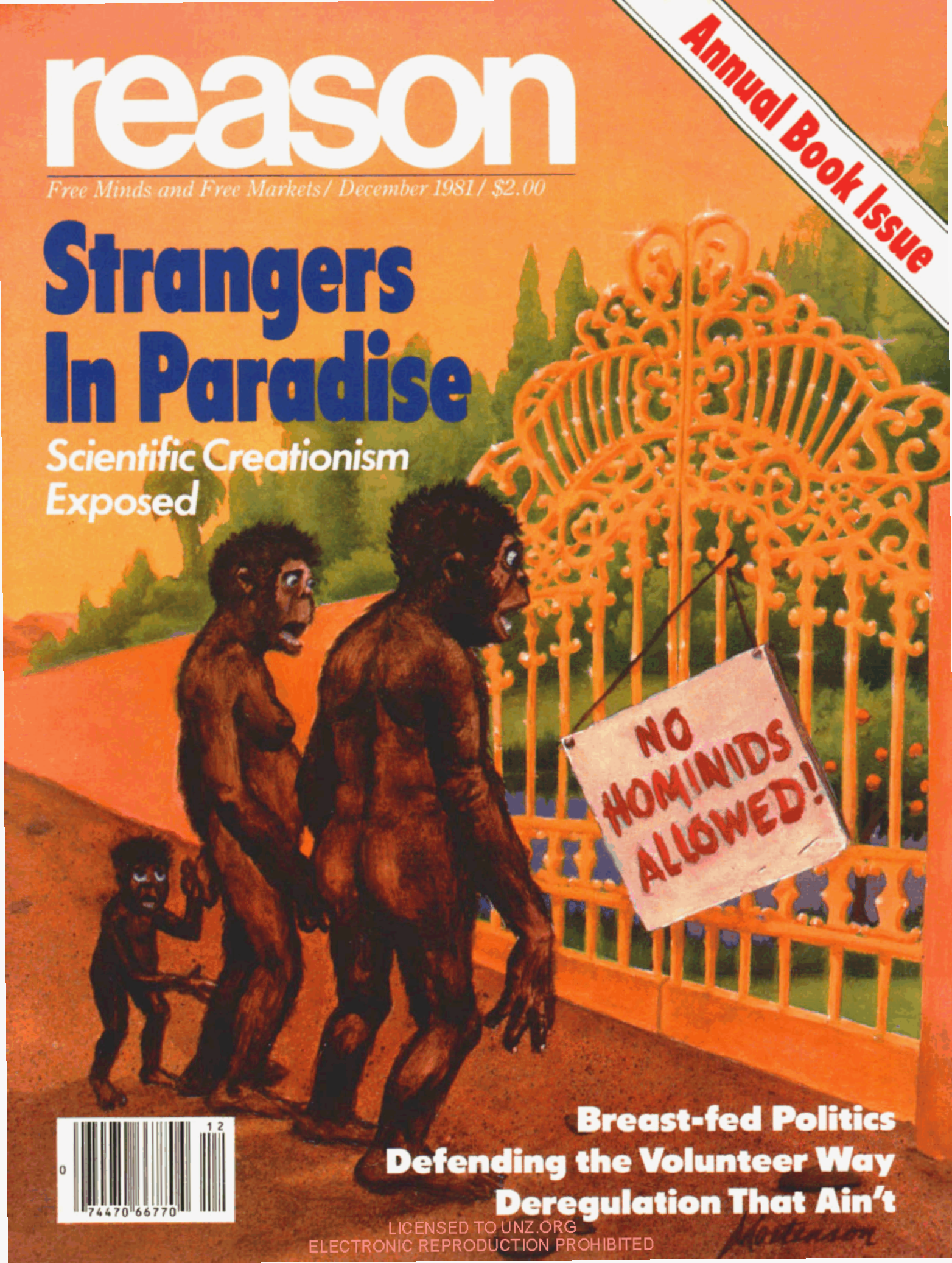

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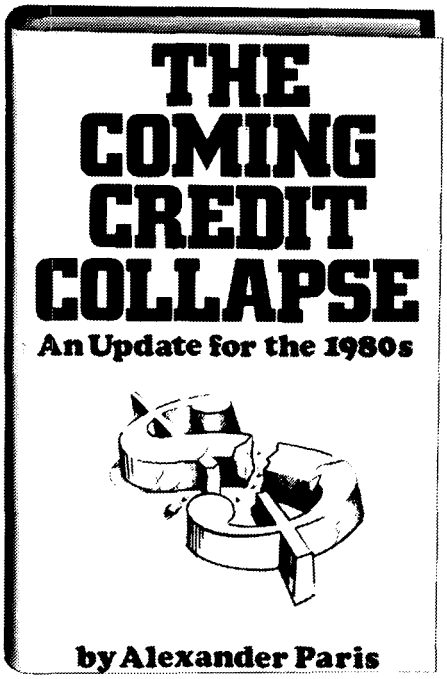

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Alexander Paris is an economist and Senior Vice-President of Kanne, Paris & Hoban, Inc. a Chicago-based investment consulting firm where he is an advisor to major financial institutions. He is also president of Barrington Associates, a research group specializing in natural resource investment, credit market strategies and investment partnership management. He has over 20 years experience in the investment industry and is widely known for his definitive predictions on interest rates and business cycles.

He is author of *A COMPLETE GUIDE TO TO TRADING PROFITS* the best selling classic *THE COMING CREDIT COLLAPSE* and *THE COMING CREDIT COLLAPSE AN UPDATE FOR THE 1980s.* He is editor and publisher of the *FREE MARKET PERSPECTIVES* and *INTERNATIONAL ASSET INVESTOR* newsletters.

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Free Minds and Free Markets

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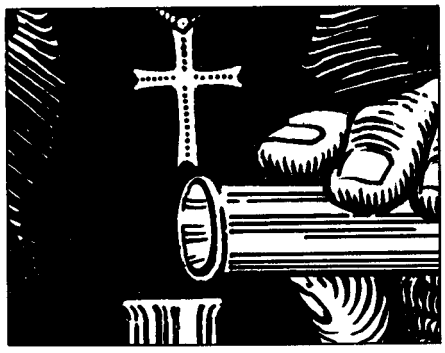

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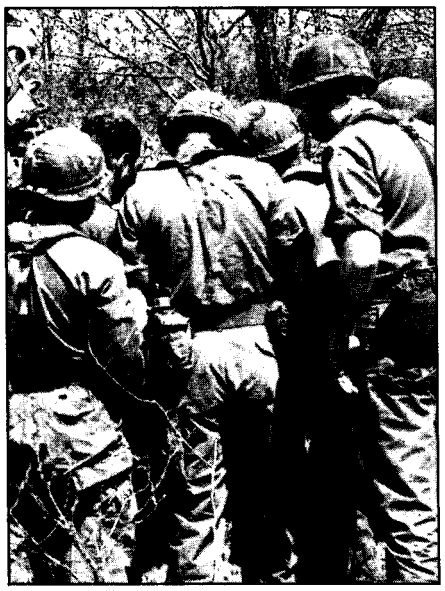

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editor's notes

Long-time REASON readers will notice that this year's annual book issue is "new and improved." Instead of devoting the issue exclusively to book reviews, we've decided not to leave you without your monthly dose of articles. They're fewer in number, however, so as to leave room for an expanded book section (it begins on p. 47). With calls for return to a full-fledged draft mounting, and Congress about to decide on whether to renew the authority of the Selective Service to continue draft registration, we didn't want to miss the opportunity to bring you a solid discussion of how the All Volunteer Force can be improved (see p. 34). In the book section, we're especially pleased to present the review by Nobel economist F. A. Hayek of a pathbreaking book by Thomas Sowell (p. 47), highly visible of late in newspaper columns and television appearances. Happy reading!

Accolades for the Reason Foundation's new book, *Instead of Regulation,* continue to come in. Sen. Paul Laxalt (R.-Nev.) calls the book "most welcome." It provides, he says, "thoughtful insight on some major problems facing us today and offers a refreshing perspective to those weary of government-conceived, government-funded, government-perpetuating solutions." Laxalt sent out a "dear colleague" letter inviting fellow senators to attend our October 21 Capitol Hill briefing on the book. A similar letter was sent out to House members by Rep. Thomas Kindness (R.-Ohio) whose subcommittee is dealing with regulatory reform. Kindness calls the book "a thought-provoking work of central value to everyone concerned with the future role of government in our nation."

In addition to directing the briefing, I also spoke about the book at the Council for a Competitive Economy's (CCE) National Conference on Economic Freedom on October 23. Two of *Instead of Regulation*'s other contributors, George Benston (securities regulation) and Ida Walters (communications regulation) took part in panels at the conference. Meanwhile, CCE called for privatization of the air traffic control system, based on my discussion of the idea in *Instead of Regulation.* The organization has reprinted an excerpt from chapter 7 of the book, titled "The FAA: Is There a Better Way to Fly?"

That same week in Washington I took part in a conference on user charges, jointly sponsored by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, the Association of American Railroads, the Environmental Policy Center, and the Heritage Foundation. In a session on transportation issues, I gave a paper on privatization of the airways. The following week I was the guest at a luncheon at New York's Lehrman Institute, where I gave yet another briefing on *Instead of Regulation.*

As of October 1 and the start of the new fiscal year, reported the *Los Angeles Times,* NASA will no longer be searching the skies for radio signals from any intelligent civilizations elsewhere in the universe, since the new Reagan budget explicitly cut off funding for this controversial project. In our August issue, science writer Bob Scheaffer had revealed how NASA was continuing the SETI program, even though Congress had nixed it in 1979, by burying it in the budget for NASA's Life Sciences appropriation.

The most recent addition to our articles available as reprints is called "Supply-Side Economics: A Practical Guide"; it is a combined package of the articles by J. William Middendorf and Bruce Bartlett from our July issue. Also available are: "Love Canal: The Truth Seeps Out," by Eric Zuesse, and "Low-Profile Tax Resistance," by David Bergland. Sold out, but available in xerox form, are "Socialism...On the Street Where You Live," by Paul Ciotti, and "Who's Bankrolling the UFW?" by Patty Newman. The reprints are $1.00 each, postage paid.

Grass-roots support for monetary freedom is the aim of the US Choice in Currency Commission, organized by Jim Blanchard and Joe Cobb as a kind of "shadow" counterpart to the US Gold Commission. I've accepted an invitation to serve on the board of directors, along with Rep. Ron Paul (R.-Tex.), Lewis Lehrman, Conrad Braun, Elizabeth Currier, Mark Frazier, Blanchard, and Cobb. The commission has reprinted Cobb's September REASON article, "Going for Solid Gold."

—R. P.

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- How Safe is Your Safe Deposit Box?
- Why You Should Own *Both* Rare Coins and Gold Bullion Coins.
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Thinking about Strategic Defense

editorial

WHAT IS A RATIONAL PERSON to think of the Reagan administration's October 2 decision on strategic defense programs? In a long-awaited announcement, the President dumped the controversial MX "racetrack" basing system but endorsed production of 100 MX missiles to be housed in existing silos, which will receive additional hardening. He also announced production of 100 B-1 bombers, the more-accurate Trident II submarine-launched missile (SLBM), and improvements to satellite; radar; and communications, command, and control systems.

To begin with, it's important to dispense with several arguments that have been raised about the MX. The first has been to attack MX as a first-strike weapon, arguing that its extreme accuracy means it can only have been designed to launch a preemptive strike against Soviet missile silos. Such critics as the Center for Defense Information deride the notion of MX missiles making a retaliatory strike against thousands of empty Soviet silos.

What this argument conveniently neglects is that the Soviets have developed the ability to *reload* their silos by using a cold-launch technique. The SALT treaties have limited the number of silos but *not* the number of missiles. Thus, Soviet silos would remain a vital military target *before or after* a Soviet strike. Moreover, the willingness of the Soviets to launch a partial ICBM attack (as a means of nuclear blackmail) should be severely constrained by the knowledge that their remaining silos are vulnerable to attack.

A second line of argument turns on the issue of ICBM vulnerability. Arms-control advocates oscillate back and forth between arguing that (land-based) ICBMs are obsolete because they are vulnerable to a first strike—and therefore MX should not be built—and arguing that missile accuracy is so poor that our existing Minuteman missiles are invulnerable—and therefore MX should not be built.

Actually, the truth probably lies somewhere in between. Knowledgeable critics outside the Defense Department argue that variations in gravitational forces (primarily) cannot be taken into account over unpracticed trajectories, leading to unacceptable bias in where the warhead impact pattern will be. (The conventional measure of accuracy—Circular Error Probable [CEP]—measures only the scatter within the impact pattern.) But Pentagon sources maintain that 20 years of polar launches and satellite measurements have produced sufficient data to enable missile guidance computers to correct for gravitational variations. The net amounts of bias error are measured in tens of feet, they say, far smaller than current CEPs measured in hundreds of feet.

Yet another argument is that the whole issue of Soviet strength has been blown out of proportion. After all, the United States still has 9,200 targetable nuclear weapons, compared with only 6,000 for the Soviets. So what if they have more and larger missiles?

What this facile comparison omits, however, is the fact that a much larger fraction of our nuclear weapons is on board bombers (and thereby less likely to *get* delivered) or on SLBMs (and therefore useful only against cities or other soft targets). The Soviets have a *three-to-one* advantage in highly accurate land-based warheads.

The most important criticism of the MX centered on its absurd "racetrack" or multiple-protective-shelter basing scheme. The whole concept originated, not out of defense requirements, but as an element of the SALT-II negotiations. Increasingly, critics ranging from the Office of Technology Assessment to the Townes Panel to Pentagon R&D chief Richard DeLauer have concluded that the scheme simply would not work—that the Soviets could add additional warheads and missiles faster and at less cost than we could add additional shelters.

Even the least-costly 100-missile/1,000-shelter racetrack scheme would have cost $20 billion. Reagan's alternative of deploying 100 missiles in 100 existing but further-hardened shelters will cost only $2 billion, achieving virtually the same result at one-tenth the price.

But what of the remainder of the $180 billion program? How much sense does it make? We have long argued in these pages that this nation must move away from the fundamentally immoral position of basing our survival on the threat of wiping out the Soviet population. A morally sound defense should focus on being able to destroy the enemy's military capability with minimal impact on innocent civilians. Thus, the long-term objective of US policy should be to shift from city-busting ICBMs and SLBMs to a force structure composed of (1) offensive weapons of pinpoint accuracy able to take out military targets with minimal collateral damage and (2) truly defensive weaponry and civil defense capabilities.

The new program takes some encouraging steps in that direction. The substitution of the Trident II for the Trident I SLBM will give our sea-based missiles a counter-force capability for the first time, converting them from city-busters. The large increase in procurement of cruise missiles—to be carried by B-52s, B-1s, surface ships, and attack submarines—will provide precise accuracy with low-yield warheads against thousands of dispersed military targets other than missile silos. In the R&D area, the program calls for stepped-up work on both land-based and space-based antimissile systems. And the improvements in command and control, in over-the-horizon radars, in air defense and antisatellite capability plug long-neglected gaps in the overall strategic picture.

One can argue about whether production of the B-1 is really necessary. The B-52 G and H models, though aging, *might* be adequate until a Stealth-type aircraft is available in the 1990s. But Stealth is still a paper airplane. If delayed further, we could be left with a period of no airborne cruise missile carriers. Similarly, one can argue over what comes after the initial 100 MX missiles—and here the airborne Big Bird concept looks like a turkey.

But it's hard to quarrel with the basic thrust of the strategic modernization program. It represents a rejection of the costly gimmicks of the SALT/detente era and a shift away from the insanity of Mutual Assured Destruction. Those concerned about just war, as well as those enamored of cost-effectiveness, have some cause to applaud.

Robert Poole, Jr.

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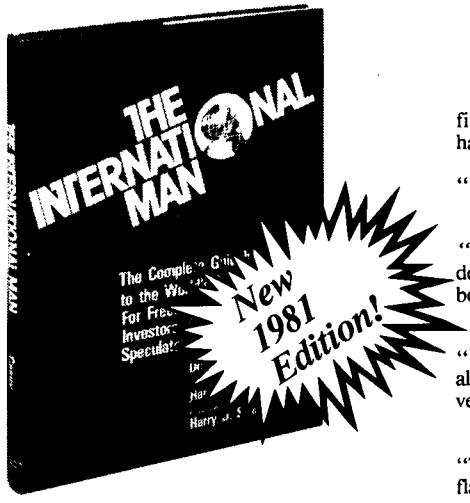

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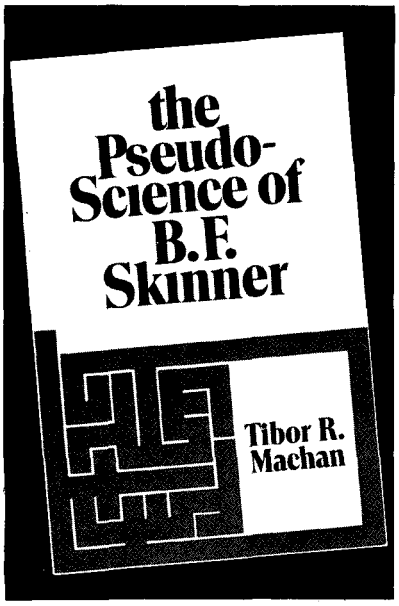
B.F. Skinner Scrutinized



Psychologist B.F. Skinner of Harvard has become very influential. Prison reform, pedagogy, drug addiction programs, public school reform, etc., are guided by his views.

THE PSEUDO-SCIENCE OF B.F. SKINNER shows why adopting Skinnerism is a mistake. Tibor Machan's carefully reasoned and powerfully written work demonstrates that B.F. Skinner is unscientific. But Machan does not end here. He shows that a dynamic and rational conception of science in fact supports a view of human nature and society quite the opposite of Skinner's technocratic totalitarianism.

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letters

Addiction Convictions

You are brave to take a stand for decriminalization of heroin (Editorial, Oct.). Many people who are addicted to caffeine, tobacco, or alcohol will condemn your opinion. Yet many of them, particularly the nicotine and alcohol addicts, would break the law to feed their habits.

Several years ago a heroin addict worked in our plant. Other than an inoffensive facial tic attributed by others to his condition, he was no different than anyone else, and a good employee. Unfortunately, he could not afford to control his habit on our wages—indeed, I could not—and he quit.

I hope your editorial is successful in making some of the right people aware of the problem. It is a shame that the law makes criminals out of people, either by their addiction or the price it forces upon that addiction.

Jim Evans
Fort Worth, TX

Say What?

In pointing out Thomas S. Booz's "gross error" in attributing the phrase "bad money drives out good" to J. B. Say, D. B. Christensen himself (Sept.) makes a very common but even more serious error. J. B. Say did *not* state that "supply creates its own demand." I believe that these words were never used by any economist before Keynes wrongly blamed them on Say (in 1936). But Keynes's influence was so great (through the unfortunate dominance of Harvard and Cambridge in the teaching of economics in the '30s) that Keynes's words have been almost universally used by virtually every writer who has mentioned Say subsequently.

Actually Say knew that an increase in the supply of peanuts did not increase the demand for peanuts. His "law" (which in my judgment is the most important law in economics) says that the production of any additional thing is always a contribution to the source of demand for all other (noncompeting) things. (See my *A Rehabilitation of Say's Law,* Ohio University Press, 1974.)

W. H. Hutt
Irving, TX

Fetal Rights in Question

As a member of that radical (but calm) minority in the prochoice camp who would allow infanticide, please allow me to mention that the right of compensation for disablement, which Roger Bissell ("A Calm Look at Abortion Arguments," Sept.) used to justify a "right" to child support, is an example of the right to restitution, that is, an attempt to restore a victim as nearly as possible to his condition before his rights were violated. Even aside from the circularity of this line of argument, which requires that the victim already had rights before they were violated, it would seem that the remedy for any such violation in the case of bringing a helpless child/victim into the world would not be to support the child until it reached adulthood but to return it to its former state—nonexistence.

Bissell's point is well taken, that the abortion controversy revolves around the definition of a human being for ethical purposes, but merely quoting and interpreting Miss Rand's definition does not finally settle the issue, at least for those of us who suspect that she and her interpreters may, after all, be only fallible mortals. The question of what is a human being strikes at the roots of natural law doctrine, and one must examine those roots to deal with it....

[Natural rights] were devised by judges in the English courts of common pleas, over the course of centuries. Their main goal was to keep the peace among men of equal power, at least, equal in the sense of Thomas Hobbes, in that "the weakest has strength to kill the strongest...." No group has been accorded what we now regard as the natural human rights without demonstrating that it will fight for them (like the American colonists) or getting someone who was already enfranchised to adopt their cause (as the Union soldiers of the Civil War adopted the cause of the slaves)....

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HOW TO FORM YOUR OWN TAX HAVEN CORPORATION PRIVATELY

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Composite Rating reveals which Tax Havens really offer secrecy . .

Appendices includes every IRS form relating to Foreign Corporations, Trusts and transactions . .

Which havens offer:

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2) **Codified Banking Secrecy?**
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Natural rights were so named because they can be thought of in the same way as the self-enforcing natural laws of science. So, surely as two massive bodies will be attracted to each other as described by the law of gravitation, so too will a race of "rational animals" tend toward the full exercise of the maximum mutually consistent freedom of action, as described by the doctrine of natural rights.

To attempt to apply the doctrine of natural rights to fetuses as if they were substantially the same as adults, which Bissell does, is utterly inappropriate. It is like doing gunnery on the assumption that a feather is substantially the same as a lead slug and leads to equally ridiculous results....

Mike Lenker
Houston, TX

In most discussions about abortion, including the article by Roger Bissell (Sept.), arguments are made about how soon the fetus can be removed from the woman and still live, or at what point the fetal brain has a certain amount of activity, etc. But what is missing from the abortion discussion is the fact that the fetus has a parasitic relationship with the woman. Bissell mentions this briefly.

But his attempted analogy of fetal reliance upon the woman and infant reliance upon someone else is erroneous. Certainly an infant requires support to survive, but that support can come from anyone and is transferrable. In the case of a fetus, the support must come from the woman carrying it. She can't transfer the support to anyone else.

The fetus is inside the woman. An infant is not. The fetus is physically connected to and biologically dependent on the woman. An infant isn't inside anyone and isn't biologically dependent on any unique person. Clearly the parasitic relationship of the fetus with the woman is not the same as an infant's dependence on other people.

Bissell wrote a great deal about defining when the fetus, while it is still in the woman, becomes a human being. He mentions, correctly, that the distinguishing characteristic of a human being from other animals is its rational faculty. This is probably why there is a search for a certain level of fetal brain activity, to determine when it becomes a human being with associated rights.

But in this context, one has to keep in mind that rights are conditions of existence required by man's nature for his proper survival *qua* man. What is forgotten is the "*qua* man" part of the concept. Obviously, "*qua* man" doesn't include an organism living inside a woman. It doesn't include a non-air-breathing organism. It doesn't include an organism that is a physical parasite.

Even though in its later stages the fetus has a high level of brain activity and carries out a number of body functions, and even though it can be removed and still be kept alive, it is still inside the woman. The fetus is still a fetus, a parasite, a non-human being *qua* human being.

The biological and physiological dependence on the woman make the fetus a parasite in the full sense of the word. As such, the woman has biological primacy over the fetus. By biological primacy is meant that if the host (woman) dies, then the parasite (fetus) dies also.

Only at birth is this relationship severed. Until then, the biological primacy gives the woman primacy from the standpoint of rights....This means that the woman has all rights; the fetus has none.

John H. Davis
Richardson, TX

(Continued on p. 17.)

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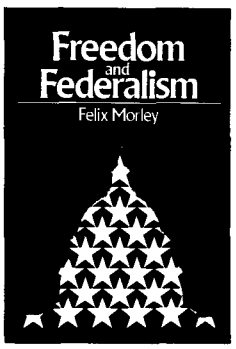

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NTP News Report

Part I

THE MOST IMPORTANT MONEY/POWER DISCOVERY SINCE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Frank R. Wallace, Ph.D. — Interviewed by NTP Columnist Eric Savage © 1981

The discovery of an entire new field of knowledge has been made by Dr. Frank R. Wallace*, a former Senior Research Chemist for E. I. du Pont de Nemours. Since mid-1976, Dr. Wallace has worked to uncover a powerful array of new knowledge called NEO-TECH. That new knowledge allows ordinary people to prosper — even flourish — anywhere in the world. Last January, I interviewed Dr. Wallace at his home in southern Nevada. Below are edited portions of the interview that explain his discovery:

NTP: What is Neo-Tech? How can I benefit from it?

WALLACE: Neo-Tech is a new, scientific method for achieving success. Neo-Tech is a new knowledge that has nothing to do with positive thinking, religion, mysticism, or the occult. Once a person is exposed to Neo-Tech, he can quietly profit from anyone — anywhere, anytime. He can prosper almost anywhere on earth and succeed under almost any economic or political condition. Neo-Tech applies to all power and money-gathering techniques — to all situations involving the transfer of power or money.

Believe it or not, I first uncovered Neo-Tech through poker—the money game, the international strategy game. Strange how a discovery so important as Neo-Tech started with something so restricted as poker. Indeed, poker is just one rather insignificant area involving the transfer of money in which a person can profit through Neo-Tech.

Subsequently, I pursued Neo-Tech beyond cards to uncover far greater advantages in competitive situations involving work, business, politics, and personal relationships. Neo-Tech applies to all winning situations: Neo-Tech is a new, dramatic approach for collecting unbeatable advantages everywhere.

Neo-Tech has its roots in the constant financial pressures and incentives to develop the easiest, most profitable methods of gaining advantages. Over the decades, gamblers, salesmen, businessmen, politicians, lawyers, entrepreneurs, Don Juans have secretly searched for shortcuts that require little skill but contain the invisible effectiveness of the most advanced techniques. I identified those shortcuts and honed them into practical formats called Neo-Tech.

NTP: Can people really get rich by using Neo-Tech? Or is Neo-Tech like cheating; is it a metaphor for cardsharps, con artists, dishonest merchants, greedy politicians?

WALLACE: Definitely not. In the first place, Neo-Tech can be used honestly and ethically. In the second place, Neo-Tech is *not* based on fraud, collusion, gall, hustling or swindling as are most cheating techniques and con jobs. Indeed, Neo-Tech requires no special skill, devices, or nerve. Neo-Tech requires no risk or changes in life style — only a new scientific knowledge that generates profits and power. Moreover, Neo-Tech renders cheating ploys so obsolete that such cheating is no longer an important threat. And certainly, Neo-Tech will someday dominate most winning situations as it spreads into business and personal relationships. The Neo-Tech man is very different from the cheater. In fact, the Neo-Tech man displays characteristics opposite to those of traditional cheaters as shown by this comparison chart I have here in my notes on Neo-Tech:

Dr. Wallace's Chart #1

CONTRASTING CHARACTERISTICS

The Traditional Cheater	*The Neo-Tech Man*
Stiff, Nervous	Relaxed, Confident
Controlled by surroundings	Controls surroundings
"When should I do it" feeling — cheats every opportunity	Knows exactly when to apply Neo-Tech — applies Neo-Tech selectively
Keeps people from watching him closely. Uses distractions and concealments	Lets people watch him. Needs no distractions or concealments
Causes suspicion with cheating moves — fears all opponents	Eliminates suspicion with Neo-Tech moves — fears no one
Makes victims unhappy while creating tense, traumatic atmospheres	Makes victims happy while creating friendly, easy-going atmospheres
Worries that his cheating will be seen	Knows that Neo-Tech cannot be seen
Fears his telltale characteristics	Works in relaxed harmony with his natural characteristics
Worries about the consequences of being caught in the act	Knows he cannot be caught in any act
Is negative in every way	Appears beneficial in every way

NTP: Their characteristics are opposites.

WALLACE: True. And their differences go much further. In or out of cards, alert or knowledgeable people can usually detect cheating — unless the cheater has acquired great skill through the years of laborious practice and experience. Even then, the expert cheater must execute each strategy perfectly, every time, putting him under great pressure. Thus, if he makes one slip or one wrong move, he becomes obviously guilty once caught, leaving him to face the consequences. That fear of being caught haunts most cheaters and overwhelms countless potential cheaters.

By contrast, Neo-Tech requires little or no skill. And the Neo-Tech man's techniques are invisible. So even if suspected, he can never be accused — his tactics actually eliminate any suspicion. Indeed, he can always avoid the consequences because he can never be caught in any questionable act. Moreover, he can use Neo-Tech honestly for both defense and profit. ...The Neo-Tech man works in relaxed harmony with his natural characteristics.

NTP: Is that what makes Neo-Tech so easy and safe?

WALLACE: Yes, but in addition, Neo-Tech is easy because its techniques arise from the essence of all shrewd winning.

About Dr. Frank R. Wallace

* *During his 12 years at Du Pont's Brandywine and Chestnut Run Laboratories, Dr. Wallace was involved in several major research projects, including the catalytic conversion of salt and sand into chlorine and water glass to reduce the cost of raw materials for industry (Wallace holds the basic patent); the development of commercial flexible nylon used in the auto industry to improve fuel and brake systems; flame retardant nylon to improve the safety of electronic products; fluorocarbon wire coating to improve the efficiency and safety of aircrafts, space vehicles, and missiles; high-definition acrylics to reduce the cost and enhance the appearance of signs; and medical uses for man-made fibers, including new leads to disease cures. Dr. Wallace is also the author of several books, the author of many magazine articles (including the first-place, national award-winning article "Consciousness - The End of Authority"), the former editor of a national magazine, and a marathon runner. In addition, he is a former professional poker player and the author of the world's best-selling poker manual, "Poker, A Guaranteed Income for Life by using the Advanced Concepts of Poker", Warner Books, New York. 359 pages.*

Neo-Tech is so subtle that no one can ever prove a person is using its techniques. And once a person understands those techniques, he will be able to safely and easily beat any opponent. That's why the Neo-Tech man will flourish.

NTP: Who exactly is the Neo-Tech man?

WALLACE: He's a man of quiet power — a man who cannot lose. He can extract anyone's money at will. He can control anyone unknowledgeable about Neo-Tech...men or women.

NTP: What actually makes him so effective?

WALLACE: The Neo-Tech man has the power to render others helpless, even wipe them out, but he wisely chooses to use just enough of his power to give him unbeatable casino-like advantages in all endeavors. His Neo-Tech maneuvers are so subtle that they can be executed with casual confidence. His hidden techniques let him win consistently and comfortably — year after year, decade after decade. Eventually, Neo-Tech men and women will quietly rule everywhere.

NTP: Can I cash in on Neo-Tech in cards?

WALLACE: Forget about cards. As I said before, cards are only a small and unimportant aspect of Neo-Tech. True, anyone can quickly become a player who cannot lose. Indeed, through Neo-Tech techniques, an average player can increase his advantage so greatly that he can break most games at will. He can win fast — very fast — in poker, blackjack, bridge, and gin. But he usually avoids winning too fast in order to extract maximum, long-term money from opponents. He fears no opponents, not even cheaters. He can quickly impoverish them, or anyone else he chooses; and they'll never know what hit them. He can immediately and consistently acquire large chunks of money, $2,000, $10,000, or more in a single day, repeatedly. ...But why bother with cards? Much greater profits are available by using Neo-Tech in the real world.

NTP: In the real world, how can I profit from Neo-Tech?

WALLACE: A person can use Neo-Tech to immediately gain advantages needed to prosper in business and in personal relationships. Additionally, he can never be taken advantage of again in any business transaction or personal contact; his Neo-Tech knowledge protects him. Neo-Tech arms him with a deadly sword and a sturdy shield. Not only is the Neo-Tech knowledge the best insurance policy anyone could own, but within days that person can possess the power to acquire large blocks of money. He quickly gains the power to make more money in a week than most people make in a full year without knowing about Neo-Tech. Indeed, he finds lifelong security and strength in Neo-Tech. And especially because of the little time needed to learn its techniques, Neo-Tech would be anyone's most valuable investment for the 80's. ...I'm going to show you a chart that demonstrates how a person gains profit and power from Neo-Tech in the real world where advantages and power really count.

Dr. Wallace's Chart #2

NEO-TECH DELIVERS PROFITS AND POWER
BY TEACHING...

In Cards (Where Neo-Tech was first discovered)	*In the Real World* (Where Neo-Tech really counts)
How to become an unbeatable winner	How to gain advantages needed for financial and social success
How to command winnings	How to command profits and respect
How to control any player, game, or even a network of games	How to control business deals and emotional situations to acquire money and power
How to quickly wipe out opponents	How to subjugate a business or personal adversary
How to win fast	How to quickly profit through specific business actions or personal relationships
How to slowly drain opponents, game after game	How to gain long-range strategic advantages that allow one to win in business or personal situations, year after year
How to extract maximum money from opponents	How to make the highest possible profit in business and gain the maximum satisfaction in social or personal relationships
How to easily detect, reject, or beat cheaters (without any hassle) ...how to destroy cheaters	How to easily detect, reject, or beat dishonesty in business or personal relationships...how to dismiss or punish people who hurt you
How to gain a substantial income, year after year	How to become successful in business and personal life by using Neo-Tech to find permanent prosperity

(chart continued on next column)

NTP: Your chart is saying that people can use Neo-Tech to control almost anyone, coming or going.

WALLACE: That's right. Neo-Tech transfers money, power, and prestige from the uninformed to the informed. Those informed can automatically take control of most situations involving money and power. But that chart ends where the real value of Neo-Tech begins, ranging from winning a lover to becoming exceptionally competent, to becoming a key employee, to gaining substantial raises, to predicting stock prices . . .

NTP: Wait a minute! Neo-Tech can predict stock prices?

WALLACE: Yes, quite reliably: First, a person must realize that a company is worth no more or no less than its free market price — its common stock price. Executives are hired by the stockholders for one reason only...to enhance the financial health of their business enterprise in order to increase profits and common stock prices. The value of an executive is determined by the extent that he provides that service. And he can deliver that maximum value by using Neo-Tech. Indeed, the more an employee, from the hourly worker to the highest paid executive, uses Neo-Tech, the more successful he becomes. And the more management uses Neo-Tech the more that business will flourish and the more its stock price will increase. Thus, to predict stock prices, use the *Neo-Tech factor* . . .

NTP: The Neo-Tech factor.... That could be really important, couldn't it?

WALLACE: Indeed, it can make one wealthy and happy.

NTP: You mean a lot of people will get rich using the Neo-Tech factor.

WALLACE: Yes, it is the coming way to prosperity. A lot of people will become wealthy.

NTP: How quickly will Neo-Tech spread into business?

WALLACE: The best way to answer that is to realize how Neo-Tech sharply reduces the time and effort to profit consistently. Begin with cards, for example. What is happening in cards today indicates what will happen in business tomorrow. Within days after gaining this knowledge, people can safely bankrupt opponents — or slowly profit from them, week after week. People can immediately extract money and prestige from any winning situation...from any card game — from the easiest Friday-night game to the toughest professional games. Likewise, people can benefit from business endeavors — from dealing with the boss to the biggest oil deal. People can also benefit from any relationship — from gaining respect of peers to inducing love from a partner. Yet, no one suspects the Neo-Tech man or woman. Within a week, an ordinary person can become a professional Neo-Tech practitioner. Naturally, as people gain this knowledge, they will immediately begin using its techniques because they are irresistibly easy, yet completely potent. Thus, as people find out about Neo-Tech, it will automatically spread throughout the world. ...Neo-Tech will become the most important discovery since the Industrial Revolution.

Part II
THE NEO-TECH DISCOVERY
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Neo-Tech was unveiled in 1980 by Dr. Frank R. Wallace; his discovery is truly an unbeatable weapon. Neo-Tech is a new, all inclusive catalyst for profiting in *any* money situation.

As a former professional poker player and author of the world's best selling poker manual, Dr. Wallace first became aware of Neo-Tech through poker. In 1976, while researching and writing an addendum about casino and club games for his best-selling Poker Manual, Frank Wallace used his world-known expertise to ferret out an unbeatable, seemingly innocent approach being used by certain professionals in high-stakes games. Wallace was detecting the beginnings of Neo-Tech.

Gradually, Wallace and his two co-workers uncovered one step at a time the full power of Neo-Tech, which became evermore meaningful as they discovered whole new realms of much more powerful concepts than those used in cards. Those valuable concepts applied to everyday situations — situations in which power makes an enormous difference — in business, social situations, and all other competitive situations. Below are edited notes taken from Wallace's personal diary during his research:

Dr. Wallace's Confidential Notes

July 1976

I've discovered the never-before-revealed nature of effortless winning while playing poker. This discovery purges the false notions about winning in cards and eliminates its mystical aura. While identifying the origins of that knowledge, I'm grasping its powerful nature.

I feel an addicting power as I begin to do the seemingly impossible. With ease I can make maneuvers to beat all opponents. The techniques come from a new knowledge. ...I've named this knowledge, *Neocheating*.

August 1976

Neocheating is something new — something exciting. The quickness with which I'm learning to acquire winning hands for myself overwhelms me. I feel uneasy about learning to win so effortlessly and quickly — all in a few days. With this lethal knowledge, think what a person could do to his opponents in a matter of days.

September 1976

Neocheating can be executed in peace and without the knowledge of others. I've discovered effective maneuvers for controlling every outcome of every situation. Neocheating is almost too easy and safe, yet it is the most potent form of winning. Indeed, the simpler and subtler the technique, the easier and safer and, therefore, the more effective it is.

I'm glad to be discovering Neocheating before anyone else. Already I have the knowledge to quietly beat even the most skilled and experienced opponents. This knowledge allows everyday players to control opponents at will.

October 1976

I've discovered easy ways to nullify moves made by opponents. I'm struck by the importance of understanding Neocheating. I need that understanding to prosper in situations involving money. Eager with anticipation, I sense that this new knowledge could be incredibly valuable beyond the card tables.

While I'm discovering more and more invisible techniques that deliver unbeatable advantages in poker, blackjack, and other games, I'm thinking more deeply of how these concepts apply everywhere. I'm grasping how the concepts of Neocheating can be used to gain easy money and power in business, the professions, and government. ...I've named this knowledge when used beyond cards, *Neo-Tech*.

November 1976

With this knowledge, what could a person do in the real world without the boundaries of a card game? Who is the Neo-Tech practitioner? He is a new breed of person who will soon rule the card tables and perhaps the world. A chill spreads over me. The closer uninformed people observe a Neo-Tech man, the more assured they become of his honesty. The Neo-Tech man appears as a most trusting person. But he knows exactly how to win. He creates advantages that remain unnoticeable to his opponents while delivering maximum long-range profits to himself. Quietly he applies his power in small strategic doses to gain steady yet unsuspicious advantages and profits while keeping everyone happy. Thus, the Neo-Tech practitioner is impossible to catch in the act and is hard to avoid. With his subtle yet unbeatable advantages, he can comfortably and *legally* control all aspects of life.

December 1976

Is Neocheating becoming a monster through Neo-Tech? Neocheating *in* cards involves gaining easy money and power over opponents through techniques that meet two criteria: (1) easy to execute, and (2) invisible or undetectable. Neocheating *outside* cards involves gaining easy advantages and power over others by meeting two similar criteria: (1) easy to execute, and (2) not vulnerable to detection or assailable as dishonest.

Once those two criteria are established, Neocheating formats can be established for almost any situation. With such formats, a person not only captures unbeatable advantages over others, but commands shortcuts to profits and power. I'm realizing how many of the most wealthy, powerful, and admired people today consistently use Neocheating formats without ever realizing it — without ever being suspected. I call those people Master Neocheaters. They acquire extreme power and wealth. Such people include trusted heads of states, powerful political leaders, charismatic idols, famous religious leaders, certain prosperous businessmen, international bankers, many of the best-known TV commentators, key journalists, influential editorial writers, Hollywood actors, many well-known authors, certain prestigious professors, highly visible environmentalists and consumer advocates, politically or socially oriented scientists — many of the most powerful people in the world. By the mid 80's, essentially every ordinary person who becomes wealthy or powerful in any field will have used this discovery. ...I've got to think about Neo-Tech a lot more. New ways for ordinary people to gain power and advantages are bombarding me faster than I can analyze them.

January 1977

I feel an accelerating pull towards power as I continually discover new ways that anyone can effectively apply this new knowledge to any winning situation — in gaming, business, politics, personal and social life. This quantum-leap breakthrough will let anyone profit constantly, all the rest of his life.

February 1977

Everyday, I'm learning more and more to apply Neo-Tech in all areas of life. I'm discovering how to profit everywhere. Neo-Tech truly helps a person achieve confidence and happiness while removing the financial and social pressures.

March 1977

The application of Neo-Tech to everyday business and personal relationships is becoming increasingly real. In fact, Neo-Tech can be used in any confrontation involving two or more people. But anyone who crosses the Neo-Tech man's path is in potential danger. The Neo-Tech man can financially and emotionally control whomever he desires. The strength and dimensions of Neo-Tech with its infinite applications reach far beyond my previous thoughts and imagination. In fact, Neo-Tech is growing out of my control.

April 1977

What have I created here? Can Neo-Tech control all business and personal relationships? Yet, here lies the greatest value of the Neo-Tech Discovery. It is not at all like those inspirational, temporary, self-help type values that usually lead to nothing. Neo-Tech is a permanent value that endlessly grows — a value that grows for the rest of a person's life. People can now use Neo-Tech to live happier, more profitable lives.

May 1977

I'm realizing how the Neo-Tech Discovery can lead anyone to a personal renaissance. Would that eventually mean a world-wide renaissance? ...Could the future of our world depend on others understanding the concepts of the Neo-Tech Discovery?

December 1980

After four years of research and writing, I've come to realize that Neo-Tech could eliminate external authority and mysticism everywhere, permanently. ...The power of Neo-Tech is coming together almost too fast; it is reaching a critical mass on the verge of exploding. But an even greater power is looming — power comparable to black holes in space...mind-boggling power, yet inconspicuous except to those who know about Neo-Tech.

January 1981

I'm learning the full meaning of Neo-Tech power: All will yield to the new-breed Neo-Tech man. ...Truly great days are coming.

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Until now, information about Neo-Tech had been unavailable. Recently, however, Dr. Frank R. Wallace and his co-workers completed a five-year research project on Neo-Tech and prepared a comprehensive, half-million-word Information Package that fully reveals all facets of the Neo-Tech Discovery. That Information Package reduces the techniques of Neo-Tech into powerful but surprisingly easy formats that anyone can execute in almost any situation.

Dr. Wallace and his co-workers then catapulted their findings into even more dramatic discoveries—ironclad defenses and powerful counterattacks that not only let you and your friends protect yourselves, but let you firmly control others. Wallace's double-barreled discoveries are presented with such clarity and step-by-step detail that you can immediately gain honest profits from most situations as well as forever protect yourself from being beaten by others. But those without the Information Package will never know what is happening. They will always be at the mercy of those knowledgeable about Neo-Tech

Now, long before the public knows about this information, you can acquire the complete 454-page Neo-Tech II Information Package for becoming unbeatable in any situation (along with Dr. Wallace's 178-page Neo-Tech Information Package for becoming unbeatable at cards.) Both Neo-Tech I and II describe every step and every situation in detail with over 200 concepts. Many concepts are accompanied with how-to, real-life anecdotes. And each concept is in a crisp, self-contained consultant capsule so that any reader can use Neo-Tech Power to fill his own wants and needs — beginning with Concept 1 — without having to read through the entire package. Also a quick-find index of over one-thousand subjects (found in the consultant capsules) lets the reader go straight to the concepts that apply most to his immediate needs. You can acquire this Package by ordering directly from I & O Publishing Company at the order-processing address shown below:

To receive the 632-page Neo-Tech Information Package (Neo-Tech volumes I and II), send your check, money order, or credit-card number including expiration date (Visa, MC, AE, DC, or CB) for $69.95 (manuscript copy) or $100.00 (bound copy) postpaid to: I & O Publishing Company, Inc., Special-Order Department 1-R, Box 906, Boulder City, Nevada 89005. The lower-cost, numbered manuscript copies contain exactly the same information as the commercial hundred-dollar bound document. These lower-cost Neo-Tech manuscripts are available for 30-days; they are numbered and packaged as printed pages secured together. (Numbered manuscript copies of important documents in any field should be held for future price appreciation.)

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— A Postscript from Eric Savage —

Although I personally interviewed Dr. Wallace about Neo-Tech, I failed to realize the personal benefits Neo-Tech could deliver until I actually received the Information Packages. While opening the cover of The Neo-Tech Discovery (volume I), a feeling came over me that I was embarking on a journey from which I would never return. I felt my life changing on reading the first concept. And each subsequent concept delivered new advantages I never knew existed. Three weeks later on closing the cover of Neo-Tech II, I knew how to capture personal advantages from almost any situation. I had discovered a new world in which power flowed into me as Neo-Tech melted the grip of external authority with all its draining Neocheaters. Today, I control my life and surroundings. I now have limitless earning capacity and can guiltlessly take what I need from life. Moreover, I now have a growing power that no one can take from me — a power that I earned while studying Neo-Tech.

Admittedly, I was unprepared for the array of advantages that Neo-Tech provides. Even after carefully preparing by spending several hours with Dr. Wallace discussing Neo-Tech, I was still unprepared for the Information Package. So what about those people being newly exposed to Neo-Tech without my advantage of having first talked to Dr. Wallace? How will they handle the advantages and power thrust on them by Neo-Tech? The Neo-Tech Discovery began with something so specific and narrow as cards. Yet, Neo-Tech will soon be responsible for the decline of all Neocheaters — of all external authority. At the same time, Neo-Tech will bring about a personal renaissance — a journey from which none of us will ever return.

ADDENDUM TO THE NTP NEWS REPORT — ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE NEO-TECH DISCOVERY

NEO-TECH POWER

How Neo-Tech Makes Average People Exceptionally Competent

(The Clark Kent Syndrome / The New-Breed Neo-Tech Man)

by Mark Hamilton
Editor
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During Eric Savage's January interview with Dr. Frank R. Wallace, other important questions and answers about the subtler powers of Neo-Tech were recorded near the end of the interview. But because of Neo-Tech's dramatic power to create quick advantages, I omitted the latter part of that interview from the NTP News Report. Then, during subsequent weeks, I realized my mistake: Neo-Tech's subtler powers to gain infallible competence will, over the long-term, be even more valuable than the immediate rush of financial gains so easily available from the Neo-Tech techniques revealed in the NTP Report. Therefore, I'm providing the rest of Eric Savage's edited interview:

NTP: Beyond the immediate financial advantages and quick profits available from Neo-Tech, how will the Neo-Tech Discovery affect you and me in the real world . . . in society?

WALLACE: Neo-Tech meets the criteria: easy and safe — but powerful. Therefore, Neo-Tech will increasingly be used in all areas by more and more people. And the lives of those people will grow richer. Of those, some will choose to use Neo-Tech concepts to gain enormous power and wealth. But equally important, people knowledgeable of Neo-Tech cannot be drained by Neocheaters. The ordinary man, no matter how low on the power scale, can reverse the situation. With Neo-Tech, he can take away the power from the Neocheaters who have drained him all his life. That is extremely important since the most powerful external authorities today extract money and power from the masses of unknowledgeable people by Neocheating. For example, essentially every traditionally trusted politician has for years gleaned power by Neocheating the uninformed public without fear of being caught, without suspicion. Indeed, to the extent he is successful is the extent he uses Neocheating. Consider how many of the most successful politicians have for years overly regulated, controlled, and taxed the public — have neocheated the public — for personal power. Their power ploys have created such a jungle of regulations, inefficiencies, and red tape as to hassle busy individuals, cripple creative scientists, and prevent private enterprise from fully developing their productive and technological capacities. That arrogated authority not only diminishes everyone's spirit, but diminishes everyone's standard of living and even prevents the development of cures for diseases such as cancer. More importantly, research on biological immortality . . .

NTP: Wait a minute. Preventing cures for cancer? How can that be so?

WALLACE: Let me relate a personal experience: As a scientist at Du Pont, I was involved in research that offered a unique approach for the treatment of diseases. One potential approach involved the development of extremely fine fibers impregnated with slowly releasing drugs. If such fibers were injected around cancer tumors, for example, the growth of those encased tumors might be retarded or stopped — to lay harmlessly dormant in their man-made coffins forever. But FDA "scientists" and other bureaucratic Neocheaters trying to enhance their jobs and glean prestige killed that and many other promising research projects with time-consuming, prohibitively expensive, self-serving regulations.

NTP: You know, "60 Minutes" recently dealt with something like that. And I hear about that kind of thing more and more every day. How can it be stopped?

WALLACE: Today, as Neo-Tech spreads, people in steadily increasing numbers will be able to, for the first time, avoid the harmful ploys of those external authorities. As the public becomes informed of Neo-Tech, they will be able to identify and circumvent those master Neocheaters who have previously drained them. Now, ordinary people will be able to fill their own pockets with profits rather than lining the pockets of the Neocheaters. Politicians and other authorities will be increasingly understood by the public as more and more people learn about Neo-Tech. I have another chart that demonstrates how most people have unknowingly let their lives be drained by those external authorities. This information also shows how the informed will financially and emotionally benefit by breaking free of those master Neocheaters. Indeed, everyone informed of Neo-Tech will have the tools not only to break free but to profit from the decline of external authority. Furthermore, this information shows exactly how the average person can turn into the new-breed, Neo-Tech man . . . a man who can acquire far greater advantages than any Neocheater — even a master Neocheater.

(See Wallace's chart on back page)

NTP: Your chart uncovers things I was never aware of. It's bad enough that those Neocheaters conceal their ripped-off power, but it's rotten how they're doing it by draining me, you, and everyone else . . . those bastards. Do you see we're the ones who really count . . . we're the new-breed.

WALLACE: That's right. We're the ones who hold the power on this planet. But like you, most people have never been aware of this. Now, with Neo-Tech, you truly can become the new-breed. That's why the Neocheaters never told us their secret, because we would take away their power that is rightfully ours. You, like everyone else could never really know the truth behind external authorities without understanding Neo-Tech. The actions of such external authorities usually depend on Neocheating — on undetectable routes to easy money or power at the expense of others. Like the Neocheater in cards, the external authorities are confident and relaxed; they control their surroundings ; they work in harmony with their natural characteristics; and they know they can never be caught. Furthermore, they seemingly benefit their victims by giving them guidance, leadership, or doctrines to follow — making those victims easy to control. Indeed, publicly revealing Neo-Tech exposes the Neocheater's essence, which could lead to the eventual demise of external authority. No longer need you be denied what is rightfully yours.

But none of that is really important anymore. For the new-breed Neo-Tech man never again has to feel helpless. He never again has to be on the defense. He never again has to depend on anyone or anything of the past. He enters a new world and controls his own future. He becomes a Clark Kent — a quiet superman. He gains the real power — the real advantages and profits that few ever knew existed. ...That is the best news.

NTP: Now I know why the Neo-Tech Discovery will immediately . . .

WALLACE: Also, consider another benefit of understanding Neo-Tech: the stopping of the pain and harm caused by certain everyday acquaintances straight up to the authoritarian bureaucrats who surround everyone in almost every area of life. Neo-Tech can abruptly stop the pain and harm caused by being beaten at cards, cheated by one's spouse, exploited by one's husband, taken by women, manipulated by parents, drained by bosses, gypped by merchants, mislead by professional people, used by friends, abused by strangers, dominated by society, fouled up by bureaucrats, fooled by mystics, and hurt by government.

Neo-Tech can truly put an end to all those hurts and diminishments that have constantly kept you from becoming the person you've always dreamed of — the person you were meant to be.

And there are other side benefits. For example, when viewing network TV with the knowledge of Neo-Tech, a person becomes acutely aware of the steady stream of powerful Neocheaters — TV commentators, news editors, sociologists, politicians, educators, nutritionists, faddists, mystical gurus, and religious proselytizers — who constantly gain advantages from their followers in countless subtle ways. Neo-Tech concepts allow people to identify and nullify Neocheaters who drain everyone's life daily.

With the concepts of Neo-Tech, a person nullifies those Neocheaters while transferring their power from them to himself. He no longer needs to bow to or idolize the man-on-the-hill. Neo-Tech allows people to be proud of themselves. With Neo-Tech, a person knows with fearless righteousness that he, himself, is the most important person—and everyone will know it.

NTP: Mmm. Can you restate what you're saying to bring me back to earth?

WALLACE: The Neo-Tech concepts are practical tools for profits and crucial tools for thinking. Neo-Tech really puts one on the right track. No longer do people have to suffer in silent frustration watching their lives and dreams be quietly drained away. Who hasn't felt that distant, lonely sadness . . .

The Neo-Tech concepts are among the most powerful thinking tools for happiness; they are the cutting edge for prosperity . . . for making those dreams come true. Neo-Tech can rekindle those sparks that flickered out long ago.

NTP: Is all that really true? I mean does all that really apply to us — to we producers who work for a living?

WALLACE: You are the good, the innocent, the powerful. You are the Clark Kents. The days are over of your being defrauded of wealth, pleasure, and happiness. The days are over of being victimized by the politicians, mystics, and pseudo intellectuals. In your innocence, you have unknowingly been drained by Neocheaters. Now, at last, you can break free and take what all productive human beings rightfully earn but seldom take . . . a guiltless life of love, pleasure and wealth. But even more, you can now become the new-breed Neo-Tech man and command your own future.

NTP: That's pretty profound. I'll have to give that some deep thought.

WALLACE: You should. For the more one thinks about Neo-Tech the more he will profit from it.

NTP: What if I want to profit more and more? What if I get a little greedy like J.R.? What if I want to become the man-on-the-hill now — through Neo-Tech?

WALLACE: Look at the chart again. Contrary to what you seem to believe, the highest profits of Neo-Tech come not from *destroying* advantages of others, although anyone can do that with Neocheating to gain tremendous power and profits. But the highest profits come from *creating* honest advantages for oneself. Indeed, to any chosen extent, you can apply Neo-Tech to personally gain both immediate and long-range advantages in business, personal life, and social situations . . . the applications of Neo-Tech are endless.

Back to your question on becoming like J.R. As the first step, anyone can immediately profit by collecting the Neocheating advantages available in any winning situation. Moreover, anyone can use Neocheating to control other people — control even the most alert, sharpest people. Master Neocheaters use undetectable techniques to gain maximum advantage from every situation to acquire extreme power and wealth. Moreover, anyone can use Neocheating to gain easy advantages or profits to any chosen degree. But who needs that? The Neocheater, yes, he can easily do all of that. But the Neo-Tech man . . . he needs none of that. For him, Neocheating is limiting and obsolete.

Just acquiring the knowledge of Neo-Tech will show you how to reach your goals quickly and easily. You will experience a mounting sense of power and excitement while learning about Neo-Tech. Indeed, through the Neo-Tech Discovery, you too can achieve the great strength in your career or field of interest by becoming an honest Neo-Tech practitioner. In addition, you will forever be immune to Neocheaters . . . immune to most harmful situations. And, of course, if you ever decide to play cards seriously, you could leave any game a consistent loser, acquire the Neo-Tech information, and return never to lose again.

NTP: Winning a fortune at cards seems so insignificant now compared to what one can really do with Neo-Tech.

WALLACE: Mr. Savage, you're on the way to becoming a new-breed Neo-Tech man.

EXAMPLES OF MASTER NEO-TECH PRACTITIONERS
(which anyone can now become)

Cards: Unbeatable Neocheater.

Business: Many prosperous executives, stock and real estate brokers, lawyers, J.R. Ewings.

Money Management: Wealthy international bankers who gain advantages and profits through governments. Prominent trilateralists. Federal Reserve System (interest rates, inflation).

Politics: The most powerful and revered politicians, bureaucrats, and government agents.

Education: Certain prestigious professors, teachers, well-known nutritionists who build careers through ideas based on empiricisms, myths, and mysticism. Intellectual elitists.

Mysticism: Many well-known mystical and religious leaders. Inspiring evangelists, Elmer Gantrys. Rational-appearing neomystics promoting books and therapies based on "self esteem" and "romantic love".

Social: All Don Juans and most casanovas. Smooth operators.

Media: Many of the best-known TV commentators, journalists, editorial writers, performers, authors, Hollywood actors.

Science: Chic environmentalists, Naderites, FDA "scientists", and other politically or socially oriented "scientists" who build careers by using facts out of context.

NEOCHEATING AGAINST THE UNINFORMED

EASY TO EXECUTE	UNASSAILABLE
(which anyone can now use)	
Neocheating maneuvers require little skill.	Neocheating maneuvers are so subtle they are invisible.
Guide customers or clients into being controlled by superior authority or feelings of trust.	Appear to sincerely work for customer's best interest.
Gain unearned money through manipulating government funds and favors.	Nothing is illegal about their manipulations.
Live by actions that require little or no productive effort.	Traditionally accepted as good or at least necessary.
Easily manipulate students or followers through the power of authoritarian teaching positions.	The uninformed cannot identify that educators can easily use arrogated authority to build careers and egos.
Requires little effort to extract a respectable living from producers.	They are often blindly accepted as good and needed. Offer good-sounding but spurious or simplistic approaches to "truth". Often falsely link themselves to objectivity, positive emotions, logic, and science.
Control partners through vulnerable emotions.	Others cannot prove insincerity.
Create influence by casually twisting facts to guide trusting followers.	Others cannot identify the immorality of such authors, actors, newscasters.
Gain easy prestige with comfortable income and security.	Appear to be acting in society's best interest when actually misusing facts to generate profit or prestige.

NEO-TECH FORMATS FOR THE INFORMED
(which anyone can now use to break the masters)

Cards: Knowing about Neo-Tech allows instant identification of Neocheaters. That knowledge allows the informed to avoid, nullify, or even beat Neocheaters.

Business: Identifying black-hat Neo-Tech practitioners and understanding their techniques provides valuable knowledge that eliminates losses and delivers larger profits by avoiding erroneous assessments and costly decisions. Through white-hat techniques, the little man can quietly profit from any wheeler-dealer.

Money Management: Knowing how to handle the black-hat Neo-Tech man (especially when he offers an attractive-appearing proposal) provides long-range benefits and peace of mind by avoiding future losses or traps. Also, lucrative short-range gains are available by collecting the set-up inducements from Neo-Tech practitioners then pulling away at the right moment.

Politics: Knowing government black-hat Neo-Tech techniques provides powerful tools not only for protection, but for profiting from the actions of politicians and bureaucrats who extract power and money from productive people. Also valuable for reducing taxes and profiting from big government.

Education: By knowing the black-hat Neo-Tech practices of certain educators, a person can strip the innocent-appearing, ego-enhancing or career-advancing maneuvers from those educators who try to mislead them. Allows people to acquire much better educations.

Mysticism: Knowledge of Neo-Tech reveals the essence of mysticism...how most mystical leaders are expert Neocheaters who gain followers by persuading others to accept their doctrines and slogans through their influences, teachings, and spurious testimonials. Neo-Tech knowledge is necessary for avoiding the draining effects of mysticism; for gaining maximum happiness and profits from life.

Social: The Neo-Tech Discovery provides a rapid sorting mechanism for discarding destructive relationships and for winning beneficial relationships that deliver happiness.

Media: Identification of Neocheaters allows an accurate evaluation of literature, TV shows, news programing, media events, movies to permit more accurate and profitable decisions. Understanding Neo-Tech lets one quickly identify the 180-degree inversion of objective values by bad business practices, political or social demagoguery, and mystical illusions.

Science: Knowledge of Neo-Tech allows one to reject, for example, most warnings by government-funded "scientists" of illusionary health and safety risks that result in profit-draining restrictions and regulations. Neocheating with science damages the productive segments of life to diminish everyone's well-being. ...Knowledge of Neo-Tech permits valid value judgments and delivers peace of mind that most scientifically-oriented Neocheaters seek to undermine.

THE NEW-BREED, NEO-TECH MAN / NEO-TECH POWER
(which anyone can use to become exceptionally competent to benefit himself and others)

The New-Breed in	New-Breed, Neo-Tech Approach for the Average Man (Low-profile, Clark Kent approach)
Cards:	Captures favorable casino-like odds — always. Sure thing — nongambler.
Business:	Creates continuous advantages — can break competitors at will. Locates bigger and better opportunities through Neo-Tech. Controls the rules.
Money Management:	Wins fast — avoids winning too fast. Controls money-flow. Uses *Neo-Tech Factor* to predict investment and stock prices.
Politics:	Manipulates authorities for personal gains.
Education:	Gains Neo-Tech knowledge (regardless of his education or background) for controlling others.
Mysticism:	Identifies illusionary thinking in others to gain maximum advantages and to jack up the stakes. Controls the bicameral minds in others.
Social:	Reads everyone, especially important people, through give-away tells. Stymies or benefits others at will. Switches at will between minor and major leagues.
Media:	Expands knowledge at will.
Science:	Uses DTC: the New-Breed's most powerful tool.

Give copies of this NTP Report and Addendum to your family and friends. This information is invaluable, and the more it spreads the more you will benefit.

I applaud the editorial by Marty Zupan and the article by Roger Bissell (Sept.) for their sane and rational approach to the abortion issue. Both are quite right to argue that emotionalism and religion should not be decisive in the abortion debate. I have no political objection to either emotion or religion "fueling one's resolve" on an issue, but in the end rational analysis must decide the question. It is in this spirit of rationality that I wish to direct a few critical comments toward Mr. Bissell's argument.

The heart of the argument concerns the possession of a rational faculty, which he claims is present after the 28th week. It is at and after this point that undifferentiated sensory awareness turns into the ability to "distinguish objects of perception." Bissell does not argue, however, that 28-week-old fetuses actually perform a primitive sort of concept formation (which one might normally take as evidence of rationality), but rather that conceptualizing is dependent upon and necessarily connected with perceptual awareness. Thus "rationality" must be extended to include both the conceptual and perceptual process.

I would agree that a valid concept of rationality includes both perception and conception. It does not follow from this, however, that one ability without the other is therefore rationality, simply because it is a necessary component of rationality. Animals seem to possess the power of perceptual discrimination without conceptual ability, and we accord them no rights. Thus, Bissell needs an argument which shows that we are entitled to call something a rational being even if it displays no evidence of conceptualization....

Perhaps Bissell would want to respond that it is the *very same faculty* that offers perceptual discrimination at the 28th week and later provides "full" conceptual rationality. It is not clear to me, though, how this response would help. Either anything done by this faculty is rational because we have designated this the "rational faculty" (which just pushes the question to what criteria are essential for calling this the *rational* faculty), *or* we have a more sophisticated version of a potentiality argument. In this connection, Aristotle distinguishes between first and second grades of actuality. On the first grade all the powers for an activity are present but not yet operating. The second grade is where those powers are actually being exercised. Thus this "rational faculty" in the 28th week may be on the second grade of actuality with

(Continued on p. 70.)

THE FIRE WITHIN

by Joe David

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Unlike today's disposable "literature", **THE FIRE WITHIN** by veteran writer and educator Joe David is a fast-paced, no-nonsense novel which goes after the real story... in this case, the multi-billion-dollar racket called public school "education".

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- WHY have they given up their dreams by dropping out?
- WHY are drugs and violence rampant in the schools?
- WHY does the government spend billions of the taxpayers' money spreading this evil?
- And WHAT is the only rational solution to the problem?

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trends

FCC Takes Back Seat to Editors

As previewed last month in these pages (see REASON's interview with FCC Chairman Mark Fowler, Nov.), the Federal Communications Commission has voted to ask Congress to abolish the so-called Fairness Doctrine and the equal-time provision. "Today we strike a blow in the cause of freedom," Fowler told reporters. "This is the time to strike down government's role in determining what the people shall hear and see. . . . I would rather have the editor make these choices than the government."

The Fairness Doctrine requires broadcasters—unlike print media—to give "reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance." The equal-time rule requires broadcasters to give equal opportunities to all candidates for an office if it allows use by any of them. The commission also voted to ask Congress to repeal a provision requiring stations to sell "reasonable" amounts of time to candidates for federal office. Immediately after the FCC's vote, a coalition of consumerist, religious, and labor groups announced the formation of Friends of the Fairness Doctrine to lobby for retention of the government controls.

The idea that these provisions violate the First Amendment was first brought to national attention, as far as we're aware, by our own senior editor, Tibor Machan. In an article called "One-Sided Fairness" that appeared in *Barron's* on April 22, 1968, Machan traced the history of the doctrine, illustrated its contradictions, and pointed out that government ownership of the airwaves is the fundamental problem. That bridge, however, has yet to be crossed.

Flunking the Graduated Income Tax

In his "Open Letter to the President" (May) REASON Taxes columnist Tim Condon lambasted the progressive income tax and suggested two less painful alternatives: a tax on consumption and a flat-rate tax of about 13 percent. Well, it seems these ideas are at least being discussed these days in Washington.

In an interview with the *Baltimore Sun* (Aug. 4), Paul Craig Roberts, assistant Treasury secretary for economic policy (and a REASON contributor) said, "There will be some consideration given in this administration to a flat income tax without exemptions or deductions and maybe even to moving away from income taxes altogether to a consumption tax." Roberts mentioned a figure of 15 percent as the flat-rate tax.

Roberts's boss, Treasury undersecretary for tax and economic policy Norman B. Ture, had also criticized the progressive income tax before taking office. (The same *Sun* article, however, reported that Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) is opposed to a flat-rate tax and is working to lower the maximum graduated tax rate to 35 percent.)

What supply-side economist Arthur B. Laffer would prefer is a value-added tax combined with a "very mild. . . income tax." Laffer calls income taxes "very inefficient methods of collecting revenue to finance government service."

Massachusetts Institute of Technology economist Jerry Hausman has found that the figures support all the criticism of a progressive income tax scheme. In a recent study published in the Brookings Institution's *How Taxes Affect Economic Behavior,* Hausman reported that "the economic cost of a progressive income tax is higher than most previous studies have indicated." Hausman estimates that a flat 15.4 percent rate, with a $1,000 exemption per family, would raise the same amount of tax revenue as the graduated tax system does presently.

Meanwhile, Rep. Philip Crane (R-Ill.) indicates that he may introduce legislation to replace the progressive tax system with a flat rate.

Medical Advertising Spells Relief

When in late 1979 the Federal Trade Commission ordered the powerful American Medical Association to lift all restrictions on doctors' advertising, there were widespread worries that hucksterism would prevail because, supposedly, business concerns would override medical ethics. On the contrary, we find, one particular service now being promoted would seem to prove the benefits of advertising to the medical consumer.

The service is called Gericare, and it consists of a network of doctors who treat elderly patients at a discount. Gericare doctors only collect what Medicare is willing to pay based on its fee schedules. Going to any other doctor, patients often end up paying from 20 to 60 percent of their bills.

While some of the motivation is a genuine concern for the elderly, another factor is declining patient clientele as physicians proliferate and hospitals pose new competition with the opening of outpatient clinics. As one doctor who joined Gericare put it in an interview with the *Wall Street Journal,* "I could see that down the road the hospitals' doctors would have an edge in attracting patients." Since he joined Gericare, Dr. Douglas Whitehead says, his practice

COMING ATTRACTIONS

Freeing Up the Fast Lanes: Are you tired of bumper-to-bumper traffic every morning and every evening and lots of times in-between? Are you tired of the politicians' solutions that require you to give up the privacy and convenience of your car? REASON investigates an alternative remedy and why it's being squelched by the powers that be.

Human Rights Rhetoric: A former general in the Soviet army, now exiled in the United States, exposes the delusion of diplomats behind the five-year-old Helsinki Accords.

Innovative Educator: The kids in Chicago's run-down west side had been largely written off by the education establishment. But teacher Marva Collins wouldn't settle for that. REASON sent an interviewer to talk with this woman who touched a nerve in America when she was featured on TV's *60 Minutes.*

11 Questions on Tax Audits

How many of them can you answer?

1. What should you do if you're called on by an IRS "Special Agent"? (One thing — and one thing only. At once! See page 84 of *The Taxpayer's Audit Survival Manual.)*

2. True or false: the IRS has no good way of checking out those 1099's on your dividends, interest, etc. (The wrong answer on this could cost you. See page 29.)

3. The IRS sends you a form letter questionnaire on your return. Is this cause for alarm? (It may be cause for *relief.* But only if you handle it just right. See page 57.)

4. Should you take a professional to an audit? Who should do the talking? (It all depends. See page 76.)

5. Can your accountant be made to testify against you in a tax case? Your lawyer? (The answer to this may be a real eye opener. See page 142.)

6. Should you attach "explanations" to your tax return? (Caution: they could bring *on* instead of preventing an audit. See page 193.)

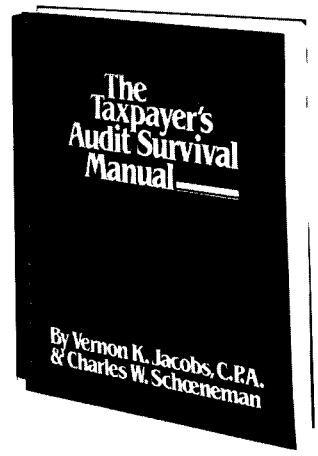
7. Should you "round off" figures on your tax return? (Don't do it before reading page 197.)

8. The tax auditor's in your office. Who should talk to him. Who shouldn't? (Spare yourself trouble. See page 88.)

9. Should you concede arguments early in an audit? If not, what should you do? (Save money. See page 93.)

10. An agent stops his audit without good reason — a sign he may suspect you of criminal fraud. Is there any way to guess at what he thinks you've done? (There may be — if you've taken one precaution. See page 133.)

11. What should you do if you're caught breaking a tax rule? What should you *not* do — ever? (This could be critical to your whole future. See page 93.)



If you don't know the answers to questions like those above (and few taxpayers *do,* even those who are otherwise sophisticated), then in today's tax climate, you're living dangerously.

Dangerously because you may unwittingly and needlessly be risking a tax audit. And dangerously because if you *do* get audited, you may unintentionally get yourself into much more trouble than you started out in.

How can you protect yourself? Now, help is at hand in *The Taxpayer's Audit Survival Manual.*

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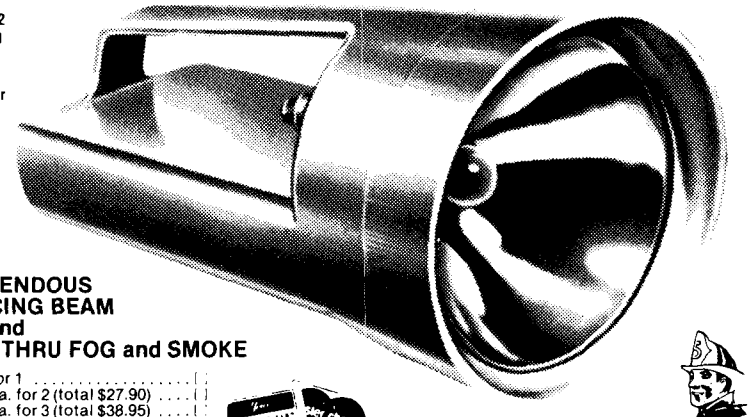

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FTC Catches Deregulatory Fervor

Feeling the heat from a deregulation-minded Congress and an administration that had threatened to abolish its antitrust branch, the Federal Trade Commission has dropped two of its major antitrust cases. Both had become symbolic of the agency's domination, in the 1970s, by consumerist influence.

The first case involved the FTC's novel theory of "shared monopoly." According to this theory, it doesn't take a single firm to have a monopoly. Instead, when most of the business in an industry has been won by a few firms, they are alleged to be harming consumers by smothering competition and charging premium prices. Using this theory, the FTC in 1972 charged the four leading cereal producers—Kellogg's, General Mills, General Foods, and Quaker Oats—with the shared monopolizing of 90 percent of the cereal market. (Quaker was subsequently dropped from the case.) The proposed remedy was to break up the companies and allow any and all firms to use the big four's trademarks and recipes. Thus, anybody would have been able to produce Froot Loops or Cap'n Crunch, not just those who had spent the money developing and marketing them.

On September 9 an FTC administrative law judge dismissed the case, ruling that the staff failed to prove that the three companies had engaged in price fixing or that they had conspired to avoid adding nutrients to cereals; moreover, he noted evidence of competitive activities in the form of cents-off labels and premiums in cereal boxes. Congress, meanwhile, is considering legislation that would forbid the FTC from using the shared-monopoly theory as a basis for antitrust action.

Just a week later the FTC's commissioners voted unanimously to drop the agency's largest-ever antitrust case—an eight-year-old suit against eight major oil companies. That case, also considered to be breaking new ground in antitrust,

charged possible price conspiracy by the oil companies and sought to break them up into separate production, pipeline, refining, and marketing companies. Most economists have concluded, by contrast, that the oil industry is highly competitive and that integrated operations tend to promote efficiency.

The oil company case had been marked by the largest subpoena ever issued, totaling 1,800 pages (plus 140 errata pages issued a month later). Exxon alone estimated that compliance would have required 6,752 man-years, leading to 93.5 million pages—a pile of paper 9.8 miles high. An administrative law judge forced the FTC staff to back down, resulting in a more modest (but still massive) request for data. And although the case is now dropped—so that the agency can focus on "initiatives more likely to provide benefits to the public"—the FTC is keeping all the documents on file for future reference.

When Controllers Go Uncontrolled

Suppose you're an air traffic controller. The job is stressful, unquestionably, and sometimes it really gets to you. One day you discover that if a doctor certifies that you have a "psychological disorder," you can retire with tax-free disability compensation that exceeds your normal take-home pay. Even if you're completely honest, that's bound to be an incredible temptation.

It turns out that large numbers of controllers apparently have succumbed to that temptation. When the feds changed the disability rules in 1974 to allow government employees to select their own physicians when making disability claims—opening up the opportunity to shop for sympathetic doctors—the incidence of new psychological disorders among controllers jumped by 150 percent, compared with an increase of only 23 percent in other disorders.

That was among the findings of a study by Michael Staten of the University of Delaware and John Umbeck of Purdue University, funded by the Carthage Foundation. The authors used the example of air traffic controllers to support their thesis that, as insurance benefits increase, claims escalate while the likelihood of catching invalid claims decreases.

Another recent study, by the Federal Aviation Administration itself, compared the incidence of various disorders among controllers with that of other populations. Among its findings were that controllers actually have a lower incidence of coronary heart disease (presumably a stress-related malady) than the population of adult males as a whole. The FAA study did find that psychiatric disorders among controllers were more frequent than among Navy personnel, but prior to the 1974 rules-change the difference was not large—6.9 per thousand for Navy personnel versus 8.6 per thousand for controllers. After 1974, however, the reported psychiatric disorder rate among controllers soared to 21.5 per thousand.

Thus, the popular image of air traffic control as a uniquely stressful job—one which perhaps requires uniquely high compensation—seems to be unsupported by the evidence. An additional indication that perhaps controllers may be *over*paid is the deluge of applications for controller jobs received by the FAA since the start of the controllers' strike.

Paying for Water

All across America, people are beginning to realize that water supplies can no longer be taken for granted. Many urban areas are experiencing water shortages,

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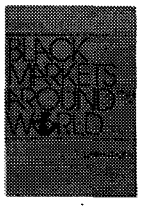

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and growing numbers of urban water systems are beginning to crumble due to inadequate maintenance. In rural areas, ground water supplies are being depleted in Arizona, California, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas.

Why? In a nation where such necessities as food and clothing are supplied in abundance, why should we suffer from shortages of life's most basic necessity? The answer is that most water is supplied by government entities, rather than the marketplace. Because these entities are controlled by *political,* rather than marketplace, constraints, they typically price water at far less than its value, thus ensuring support from well-organized interests. The results are quite predictable: (1) much water is wasted—for example, 75 percent of all US farmland is irrigated by wasteful surface methods rather than by water-conserving drip irrigation; and (2) insufficient funds are generated to adequately maintain and replace the water systems as they wear out.

Fortunately, these problems are starting to be acknowledged by people who can do something about them. Last March the General Accounting Office published a report on six federal water projects in the West, including California's huge Central Valley Project. Water prices are so low that they recover only eight percent of the cost of these projects, the GAO concluded, leading to billions of gallons a year being wasted. It recommended that Congress withhold approval of any new projects until more water-conserving pricing is adopted.

Interior Secretary James Watt is winning a few cheers from environmentalists for taking a hard-line stand on water pricing. The contract of the Westlands Water District for water from the Central Valley Project is up for renewal, and Watt wants to raise the $8 per acre-foot price to the cost-of-delivery price of $11.80—*and* build in a periodic price adjustment, rather than signing the flat-rate 40-year contract the district wants. Sierra Club water specialist Rose McCullough lauds such efforts, pointing out that "If we had cost-recovery to screen out the uneconomic [projects], we'd be 90 percent of the way to getting rid of environmentally unsound ones." The Reagan administration has also introduced legislation to provide for full cost recovery for inland waterway projects via user fees—a move Brent Blackwelder of the Environmental Policy Center calls an "unprecedented reform."

The same pricing principles should be applied to urban water systems, suggested Steve Hanke, senior economist

for the Council of Economic Advisors, in a *Wall Street Journal* article (Sept. 3). Pointing out that both private and public water systems are in trouble because of politically controlled prices, Hanke urged that the water industry be privatized and deregulated. "Each city or service area," he suggested, "would award a contract or franchise to the private firm that would guarantee, at the lowest price, a specific quality of service over the length of the franchise." France, he pointed out, has used such a system for many years. As a result, French water systems provide high-quality, efficient service, and the French water companies "have been among the world's leaders in technological and management innovations." As the old saying goes, you get what you pay for.

Radiation Reexamined

The controversy over the effects of low-level radiation continues in the scientific community. One of the principal sources of data on such effects has been the survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Detailed long-term studies on these populations have led to many of the standards for radiation exposure in use today. But the studies have failed to reveal the shape of the "dose-response" curve at very low levels of radiation. Is it *linear,* such that any amount of radiation, no matter how small, still produces some harmful effects, or is there a *threshold* below which radiation is harmless?

One new study was reported recently in *Science* (Sept. 11). Three researchers (two Americans and one Japanese) studied the incidence of four types of genetic effects in the children of A-bomb survivors. Comparing the rate of occurrence of each effect with that produced by spontaneous mutation, they found no clear statistically significant effects. They also used the data to produce a new estimate of the "doubling dose" in humans—that is, the amount of radiation necessary to produce a 100 percent increase over the spontaneous mutation rate. Their result: 156 rems, which is four times higher than the estimate in current usage based on studies in rats. (In other words, the existing standard may be overly cautious.) While still considered preliminary, the finding lends further support to the hypothesis that there may be a threshold dose below which radiation is harmless.

Even more startling is the evidence in a 222-page volume, *Hormesis with Ionizing Radiation,* by biochemist T. D. Luckey (CRC Publishing Co., 1980). As reported in Petr Beckmann's *Access to Energy* newsletter, the book reviews some 1,200 references bearing on the hypothesis that low levels of radiation actually have *positive* effects. The term *hormesis* refers to the principle that small doses of poisons are stimulatory. While an accepted principle for chemical and biological toxins, the idea had not previously been applied to ionizing radiation. Luckey's book provides considerable evidence that low levels of ionizing radiation may well be beneficial for various physiological functions and may even be essential to life. (We live, after all, in a continual bombardment of background radiation from natural sources.) All of which further strengthens the case against the linear hypothesis—and those who would use it to ban all uses of radioactive materials.

Natural Gas Decontrol: How Much, How Soon?

Opponents of decontrolling all natural gas prices make the following argument: since the Natural Gas Policy Act (NGPA) already provides for gradual decontrol of the price of gas discovered since 1977—and complete decontrol of that gas by 1985—all that decontrol of "old" gas would do is provide windfall profits for gas producers, at the expense of hapless consumers, while not increasing gas supplies.

What this argument overlooks is that most "old" gas wells are not owned by isolated individuals. In fact, they are mostly owned by oil and gas companies

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that own a mix of old and new wells. The more profitable each company's total operations, the more it can afford to spend on the costly business of exploring for new sources of supply.

Is that just corporate propaganda, or is there empirical evidence to support that proposition? Well, since the decontrol of oil prices, starting in 1979 and completed by President Reagan's removal of remaining controls last January, oil exploration has, in fact, soared. In 1981 the oil industry in this country spent $30 billion on exploration, nearly double the 1979 figure of $15.8 billion, according to figures compiled by *Oil & Gas Journal.* Spending on production (actually bringing up oil from known fields) has increased by 55 percent, to $16.5 billion this year, over the same period. According to an in-depth assessment by *New York Times* reporter Steve Lohr last August, new oil rigs are being put up at the rate of nearly four a day, "a 50 percent increase within just a few months."

"Without the higher prices, we couldn't have been nearly so interested in the Overthrust Belt," explained David F. Work, regional exploration manager for Indiana Standard, which owns 60 percent of Anschutz Ranch East, the largest oil find since the Alaska North Slope. "The strong prices allow you to justify the expensive technology and the big up-front costs of going after oil and gas out there"—typically at depths exceeding 15,000 feet.

Would consumers, nevertheless, be harmed by gas price decontrol? Actually, the only question is over the *pace* of decontrol, since the NGPA is already decontrolling gas prices. A recent study by Data Resources, Inc., predicts that accelerated decontrol starting in 1983 and ending all controls by 1985 would prevent a drastic price rise in 1985 (under NGPA) in exchange for more moderate increases in 1982 through 1984 and slightly *lower* prices than under NGPA from then on out. That is in part because accelerated decontrol would (*a*) expand gas supplies sooner, (*b*) encourage more conservation measures sooner, holding down demand, and (*c*) prevent a huge surge in prices in 1985, which could go well beyond free-market levels if up to half of all gas (the "old" gas) remains at controlled prices when all controls are removed from new gas, as NGPA provides.

Thus, some acceleration of gas pricing decontrol seems quite likely. The debate will not be over whether to do it but simply over the details.

Political Labels For a New Age

In our March issue, we mentioned the new schema of political belief systems proposed by political scientists William S. Maddox and Stuart A. Lilie of the University of Central Florida: populist, conservative, liberal, and libertarian. We said that we hoped these more accurate labels would replace the outmoded categories so beloved by pollsters, politicians, and the mass media: liberal, moderate, and conservative. Now, the results are out from a more extensive study by Maddox and Lilie, sponsored by the San Francisco-based Cato Institute, and some influential people have taken notice.

Conservative political analyst Kevin P. Phillips wrote in his nationally syn-

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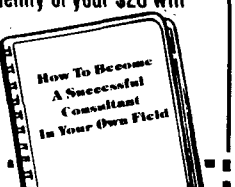

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dicated column recently that the more precise division into four ideologies has not been picked up by pollsters or politicians because "prevailing political and economic interests are served by the old liberal-conservative terminology and disserved by the four-category expansion." While the liberal-conservative descriptions are keyed to economic issues and government power, noted Phillips, the newer labels take personal behavior and moral issues into account. The main proponents of this moral aspect, he says, "albeit from different perspectives," are the Libertarian Party and the New Right.

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Liberal Democrat Alan Baron, meanwhile, also lauded the Cato Institute study in his *Baron Report.* The four groupings, Baron said, "better reflect public attitudes." Baron reported that of the 70 percent who were consistent on at least five of the six economic intervention and civil liberties questions asked, 24 percent were populists (against the expansion of individual liberties and for government intervention in the economy), 18 percent were conservatives (against both), 16 percent were liberals (for both), and 13 percent were libertarians (for expanded liberties and against government intervention).

Louisiana Schools: Deregulation Update

The latest word from Louisiana State Rep. Woody Jenkins, who authored a 1980 bill deregulating private education in Louisiana, is that deregulation has been a success. Over the past 12 months, he says, over 100 new private schools have been opened in that state.

The law now lays down only four requirements for private schools that receive no state or federal funds: the schools must have a physical facility, teachers, pupils, and a 180-day annual schedule. And instead of having to meet state government standards, the teachers must meet the standards set by the board or church operating the facility.

The real requirements facing the new schools are now those of the parents who pay them to educate their children. This allows for great diversity in the particular emphasis and beliefs taught by the

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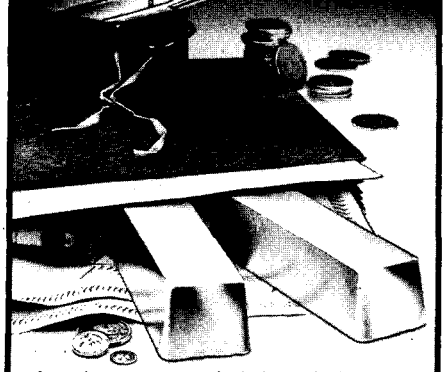

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different schools, including that touchy topic, religion.

Before the Jenkins bill was passed, the state defined a school as an institution having at least 50 pupils and state-certified teachers. Under Louisiana's compulsory attendance laws, parents who taught their children at home, for example, were liable to prosecution.

Milestones

• *Diminished Defense.* As of January 1, California's accused will no longer be able to take the infamous "diminished capacity defense" successfully used by former San Francisco official Dan White to excuse his murder of Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk—if it passes constitutional challenges.

• *Federal Grass Bill.* Reps. Stewart B. McKinney (R-Conn.) and Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) have introduced a bill that would legalize the use of marijuana for medical purposes, e.g. by cancer and glaucoma victims. Some 32 states have already passed laws allowing such medical use. This bill would establish a single federal program for the cultivation and distribution of government-grown marijuana.

• *Synfuel Funding Freeze.* The US Synthetic Fuels Corporation, created by the government to assist synfuel development, may receive no funding beyond the $13 billion it has on hand. (Some $66 billion was originally to be added.) Chairman Edward Noble told a House subcommittee that the Reagan administration wants to end federal funding as early as 1984.

• *Nuclear World Expanding.* China has launched three new reconnaissance satellites that seem to assure early-warning signals against Soviet attack and retaliatory capability. The successful multiple send-off by a single rocket also demonstrated China's ability to launch multiple-warhead intercontinental ballistic missiles across a range of about 6,200 miles, as shown in tests last year.

• *Senate Cuts Farm Subsidies.* The Senate passed a four-year farm bill much along administration lines. (The House had not voted on its own version at press time.) The Senate bill's $10.8-billion price tag, although $1.8 billion more than recommended by the administration, is $2 billion less than urged by the Senate Agriculture Committee and many more billions less than lobbyists would have liked. While the bill would reduce dairy price-support spending by 45 percent and restrict grain storage at taxpayer expense, sugar import fees would be raised and a new government loan program for sugar processors created.

• *Gene-Splicing Safe.* A National Institutes of Health federal advisory committee has concluded that most gene-splicing experiments are safe and that federal regulations in effect since 1976 should be dropped. The NIH expects to make its final decision in January, after public comment is heard.

• *Acid Rain Report.* A General Accounting Office interim report indicates that, despite marked disagreements between participating scientists, the tentative consensus is that acid rain is not a health hazard to people (see Trends, Jan.). The report did acknowledge some increased acidity in certain northeast and midwest waters, primarily caused by acid rain and causing some damage to aquatic life.

• *Gold Standard Sentiments.* Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) recently polled viewers on the gold standard during a show on the television station QUBE, a Columbus, Ohio, station that allows viewers to talk back to their TV sets. The verdict: 84 percent in favor of a gold standard; 16 percent opposed.

• *Banking Bills.* Surprisingly, sentiment favoring a major banking deregulation bill has been on the upswing in Congress lately. Antiquated banking laws (see Trends, Nov.) may be dumped in favor of allowing savings and loans associations to increase their services to better compete with commercial banks and revoking the Glass-Steagall Act barring banks from investment banking.

• *Local Power Curbed.* A US District Court in Chicago ruled that the village of Bellwood could not require that real estate agents get an okay from city council before soliciting listings. The Illinois Association of Realtors had cried foul and won on the basis of free speech rights. The city council said it was only trying to curb panic selling and to assist racial desegregation.

• *Rent Control Results.* A Rand Corporation study commissioned by the Los Angeles City Council concludes that rent control may help tenants in the short run but "create(s) the very housing shortage it was designed to alleviate" in the long run. The study reports that landlords clearly reduce maintenance costs to compensate for rental revenue lost and found that Los Angeles does not have a housing crisis—"a tight market, but not a crisis." The council will soon decide whether to extend Los Angeles's three-year-old rent control law past its May 15, 1982, expiration date.

—Robert Poole, Jr., and Christine Dorffi

BY ROBERT A. STEINER

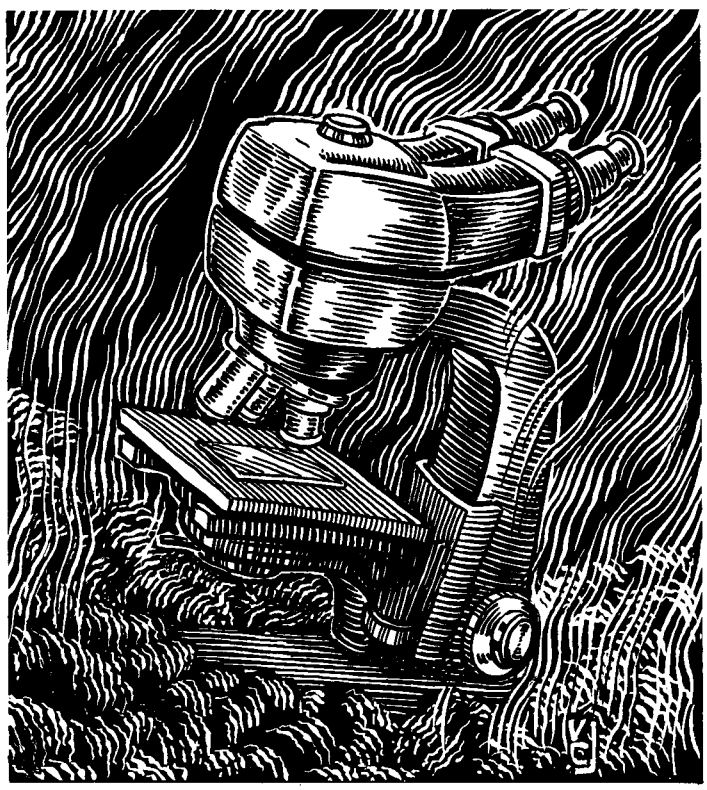
The creationists claim to be scientific. But REASON's investigation exposes their subordination of truth to religious dogma.

THE FACTS BE DAMNED!

. . . how can we explain the well-nigh universal insistence that all things must have come about by evolution?. . . The answer is Satan*! He has blinded the minds of men with respect to the gospel. . . . The 'great dragon. . . , that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan,' who 'deceiveth the whole world' (Revelation 12:9)—must without any doubt be the one who has fathered this monstrous lie of evolution, for he is the father of lies.*

It is better to believe the revealed Word of God than any science or philosophy devised by man.

—Henry M. Morris,
The Twilight of Evolution



WITH THIS WORLD VIEW, the leader of the movement called "scientific creationism" has led the attack on the teaching of evolution in the classrooms of this country. It is a battle that is enlisting the support of more and more people.

In 1980 then-presidential candidate Ronald Reagan, in reply to a question about evolution, stated: "It is a scientific theory *only*, . . . and is not believed in the scientific community to be as infallible as it once was believed. But if it *was* going to be be taught in the schools, then I would think that also the biblical theory of creation—which is not a theory, but the biblical story of creation—should also be taught."

Arkansas Gov. Frank D. White, in March 1981, signed this country's first law requiring that schools teaching evolution give equal time to the idea that humans, life, the earth, and the universe were created by a supreme being some 6,000 to 10,000 years ago in the form in which they exist today. Explained Governor White: "I'm a Christian and I believe in the Bible."

In March 1981 the California courts and the public were prepared for a full-blown creationism-evolution battle—a "Scopes II" trial, according to media commentators.* Both sides had their big guns in readiness. Presiding Judge Irving Perluss, aware of the importance of the issues in the complaint, allowed the press to cover the case. The scene was set,

*The original Scopes "monkey trial" took place in 1925 in Dayton, Tennessee. John Scopes was found guilty of violating state law by teaching evolution in his high school science classes. His conviction was later overturned. The trial pitting prosecuting attorney William Jennings Bryan against Clarence Darrow for the defense became one of the most famous cases in history. Tennessee's law on which Scopes was originally convicted was not repealed until 1967, having survived an attempt at repeal as late as 1961.

Illustrated by V. Courtlandt Johnson

complete with television crew, photographer, spectators, and clip-on microphones for the opposing attorneys.

Kelly Segraves, the creationist complainer, retreated from the original complaint and did not insist on the teaching of creationism in the schools. Instead, claiming that evolution is no more a science than is creationism, he charged that California's 1978 guidelines for public school teachers, in not mentioning creationism, violated his constitutional rights. The judge rejected that claim and made clear his displeasure that the case had fizzled: "I thought you wanted scientific creationism taught in the schools. I wonder if this case of great and important constitutional issues has evolved, if you pardon the pun, and come down to a question of semantics."

Judge Perluss did order statewide distribution to educators and textbook publishers of a statement cautioning the avoidance of "dogmatism" when dealing with evolution. The war was not fought in the California case, and both sides claimed victory.

In July, Louisiana's legislature followed Arkansas's lead and passed an "equal time" law. Both were based on a model bill being circulated around the country by Citizens for Fairness in Education, a South Carolina group. According to CFE, creationist legislation has been proposed in 21 states, and work has begun on federal legislation to lend support to creation-science research and to outlaw any mention of evolution in materials and displays at national parks and federally funded museums.

These attempts are not going unchallenged. The American Civil Liberties Union has sued the state of Arkansas, and by the time the ink is dry on this page, there may well be more laws passed and more legal counterattacks mounted.

Whatever the outcome on the legal front, science textbooks have already been rewritten to include creationism. Many teachers are voluntarily covering it in their teaching of science. Others are completely dropping the subject of origins from their teaching. That way they don't rock the boat and won't offend anybody—or so it seems.

ORIGINS

More often than not, the scientific creationists appeal to Americans' sense of fair play. Henry M. Morris, for example, writes in *Introducing Scientific Creationism into the Public Schools:* "The only fair, legal, constitutional solution of this problem is to teach both evolution and creation, strictly as scientific models of origins, whenever and wherever the subject of origins is under discussion." This *stated* goal of the scientific creationist movement deserves a closer look. A good place to start is with the leaders of the movement.

There are two leading organizations: the Institute for Creation Research (ICR), located near San Diego, California, and affiliated with Christian Heritage College; and a closely allied membership organization called the Creation Research Society. To spread the word "that creation is a better scientific concept than evolution," ICR produces voluminous literature, a national radio broadcast, and a newsletter; conducts week-long seminars; and sponsors lectures on college campuses and appearances at legislative hearings. It also supports various research projects: a search for Noah's Ark, looking for "human fossils in supposedly ancient geologic strata," development of new methods of fossil dating, and so on. The Creation Research Society, for its part, puts out a quarterly and has published a textbook, *Biology: A Search for Order in Complexity,* that has been approved for use in public schools in several states.

If the participation of scientists is all that's needed for creationism to be science, then it is. ICR has scientists as directors, scientists on its advisory board, and scientists among its research associates. Henry Morris says they "have been called

COUNTERING THE CREATIONISTS

We must never. . . never even consider attempting to use the police power of the state (with its apparatus of fines, imprisonments, and ultimately even military might and the power of life and death) in enforcement of either the gospel in general or creationism in particular. . . . And how do we fight the battle? Well, certainly not with the carnal weapons of legislation, judicial decision, or administrative regulation!

—Henry M. Morris, 1980

If movements do develop in certain places for legislation or judicial action, we strongly urge that promoters of these actions stress the scientific *rather than the religious aspects of the issue. Testimony from qualified creationist scientists stressing that creation is a better* scientific *model of origins than evolution is essential.*

—Henry M. Morris, 1972

HOW SOUND ARE the creationists' criticisms of evolution. Are their alternative explanations indeed better?

TIME WARPS. By a literal interpretation of the Bible, the universe is at the outside 10,000 years old and was created in six days. If this is true, evolution, requiring billions of years for changes to occur, is impossible; everything which now exists, exists in the same basic form in which it was created. Thus a major prong of the creationists' attack on evolution is an attempt to disprove scientists' calculations of the age of the universe.

Each of several disciplines of science has a method of dating that puts the age of the earth at billions of years and the universe many billions more. Such methods include carbon-14 dating, fossils, geological dating, radiometric dating, astronomical dating, and counting tree rings. Rather than addressing the creationist argument against each of these methods (and there are more methods), let's just examine the case against astronomical dating and then analyze the creationists' very nonscientific escape hatch.

Morris asserts: "Within the time of human observation, no such evolutionary changes [in the stars and galaxies] have ever been seen to occur at all. . . . If we limit ourselves to real, observational *science,* rather than indulging in philosophical speculation, we would have to say that the stars and galaxies have always been just as they are now, since the time they were created."

David Schramm, astrophysicist at the University of Chicago, replied recently for the benefit of *Time* readers: "In fact, we

by God for a distinctive and much-needed ministry in these important days." A look at a sampling of these scientists reveals what they themselves, as quoted in an ICR publication, consider the grounds for a belief in creationism.

Dr. David R. Boylan is dean of the College of Engineering at Iowa State University. His reasons for embracing scientific creationism: "My personal testimony is that the complex physiological, emotional, and genetical nature of man can only be understood fully through the revelation about man given in the Bible. . . . Evidence of God's handwork in nature is plentiful, as testified to by the Psalmist in the nineteenth chapter. But evidence of God's work in the spiritual realm is even more convincing. His presence to me, as a believer, is a reality. His forgiveness through Christ is an inward comfort. His provision through prayer is a source of outward strength. And His Word is a blessing continually."

Dr. Larry Butler, professor of biochemistry at Purdue University: "Only the Creationist position is true to the Scriptures."

Dr. Donald Hamann, professor of food technology at North Carolina State University: "I believe in special creation by the God of Scripture because the mass of scientific evidence corroborates Scripture and speaks of laws initiated by God."

Dr. Joseph Henson, head of the Science Division at Bob Jones University, apparently came on board quite young: "I trusted the Lord as my Savior in a summer camp when I was 8 years old and have been privileged to love and serve Him for the ensuing 33 years. . . . I have never discovered a single fact which demands an evolutionary interpretation nor have I discovered a single fact which is contrary to God's Revealed Word."

The two most famous scientific creationists, however, and undoubtedly among the most prolific writers and lecturers in the movement, are Duane T. Gish and Henry M. Morris.

Dr. Gish has his Ph.D. in biochemistry. He is on the board of directors of the Creation Research Society, is associate director of the Institute for Creation Research, and is a professor of natural science at Christian Heritage College. Gish's belief in scientific creationism is deep and long: "I received Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour of my life when I was about ten years of age. I have always accepted the Bible as God's unchanged and unchangeable revelation to man, and since it describes man and his universe as a special creation of God, I have always been a creationist."

Dr. Henry M. Morris has degrees in hydraulics, with minors in geology and mathematics. He too is on the board of directors of the Creation Research Society and is director of the Institute for Creation Research and a founder of Christian Heritage College, where he is now a professor of apologetics. His commitment to *scientific* creationism, included in the lead quote for this article: "It is better to believe the revealed Word of God than any science or philosophy devised by man."

THIS IS SCIENCE?

Yet Morris does talk a scientific line: "(1) The basic laws of science show that evolution is impossible at present, while simultaneously pointing back to the necessity of an initial special creation of all things in the past; (2) the fossil record shows that evolution has not occurred in the past any more than it is occurring at present, and, furthermore, shows overwhelming evidence that the geologic column was formed rapidly in a recent worldwide flood, not slowly through many long geological ages; (3) the weight of the evidence provided by the earth's many physical processes is that the earth is very young, not nearly old enough for evolution to be a feasible explanation for the origin and development of things. The scientific model of origins that best fits all the available scientific data is that of a recent, supernatural creation of the universe and all its basic components by a transcendent Creator."

can observe stars forming right now: in the Orion Nebula stars are visible by telescope, forming out of gas clouds. Of course, the process takes 10 million years. Obviously, none of us has watched it for 10 million years. What we do see is a series of different stars in various stages of formation. The creationists are picking up a grain of truth and totally distorting it."

What do the creationists do with items that are *obviously* more than 10,000 years old in appearance? We do, for example, observe light from stars that are billions of light years away.

Morris "solves" this knotty problem by asserting: "A very important fact to recognize is that true creation *necessarily* involves creation of an 'appearance of age.' It is impossible to imagine a genuine creation of anything without that entity having an appearance of age at the instant of creation. It would always be possible to imagine some sort of evolutionary history for such an entity, no matter how simple it might be, even though it had just been created."

Here's how the concept applies to starlight: "The Biblical record places the creation of the universe at ten thousand years or less in the past; whereas, the presently accepted distance scale held by astronomers measures the universe in billions of light years. If the light rays now reaching the earth were created in transit at the time of creation of the stellar objects, they must have been created carrying information descriptive of historical physical events (such as super novae) which never actually occurred, because we would now be observing light rays which were created in transit and never were radiated from the stars which they seem to image."

In other words, with such deceptive evidence purportedly inserted by the Creator, thinking humans, applying correct science and correct logic to that evidence, could conclude that the universe is old. How, then, do the creationists know that this conclusion is in error? They certainly can't *prove* it. They know this because, Henry Morris wrote in an open letter, *they* have been "called by God" to understand divine revelation.

Of course, we could with equal validity assert that the entire universe was created just 20 minutes ago, with our memory of the past implanted by the Creator. Does the 20-minute-ago creation theory deserve equal time in *science* classes?

THE FLOOD. Noah and the Flood are just loaded with explanations that outdo the accumulated wisdom of many branches of science. Whereas scientists find evidence of the development of species in the various fossils found in the geologic strata laid down over the course of billions of years, the flood is supposed to account for this evidence in short order: the fleeter, more intelligent animals were able to scamper higher up on the hills, and that's why their fossils are found in the higher portions of the geological column. (For example, the worm and the turtle?)

As geologist Christopher Gregory Weber writes: "The creationists have to postulate so many miracles to keep these

Having thus attacked evolution, and having pitched for the superiority of his creation model, Morris, it seems reasonable to expect, would provide an intelligible discussion of its scientific content. But here's what we get from him:

"Since [God] created both the universe and the creatures who must comprehend it, it is clearly necessary that acknowledgement of Him as Creator must precede any meaningful study of his creation."

Delving a bit deeper, we came up with: "Since nothing in the world has been created since the end of the creation period, everything must *then* have been created by means of processes which are no longer in operation and which we therefore cannot study by any means or methods of science. We are limited exclusively to divine revelation as to the date of creation, the duration of creation, the method of creation, and every other question concerning creation."

Moving right along, we discover that "the details of the creation period—duration, order, methods, purposes, etc.—cannot be determined from science. The scientific method is limited to the study of processes as they occur at present.... there really are two creation accounts, the second written by Adam, from his viewpoint. The first (Genesis 1:1-2:3) could not have been observed by any man at all, and must have been written directly by God Himself either with His own 'finger,' as He also did the Ten Commandments (Exodus 31:18), or else by direct supernatural revelation....man should bow before its Author in believing obedience, acknowledging that He has clearly spoken, in words that are easy to be understood, concerning those things which man could never discover for himself."

The writings of Dr. Gish are only superficially better. The final paragraph in his book *Evolution: The Fossils Say NO!* (public school edition) reads: "After many years of intense study of the problem of origins from a scientific viewpoint, I am convinced that the facts of science declare special creation to be the only *logical* explanation of origins." The final paragraph in his *Evolution: The Fossils Say NO!* (general edition) reads: *"'In the beginning God created...' is still the most up-to-date statement that can be made about our origins!"*

Yes, in more than one case, the "scientific" creationists have two sets of books: a "public school edition," for the unwashed masses, the courts, and the public school students; and a "general edition," for the chosen, the initiated, and the Christian-school children. The latter books include, in addition to the "scientific" explanations, corroborations by "the Revealed Word of God."

In the public school edition of Gish's book we finally get a definition of creation: "By creation we mean the bringing into being by a supernatural Creator of the basic kinds of plants and animals by the process of sudden, or fiat, creation."

Although we are supposed to be able to know that creationism is a better scientific model, "We do not know how the Creator created, what processes He used, *for He used processes which are not now operating anywhere in the natural universe.* This is why we refer to creation as special creation. We cannot discover by scientific investigations anything about the creative processes used by the Creator."

On a radio broadcast, Gish summed up his "scientific" view of origins quite nicely: "Any theories on the origin of life are outside the domain of science."

creatures alive through the Flood that it would be much simpler and easier for God to create them all from scratch again after the Flood, and just forget the floating zoo."

I cannot help envisioning Noah chasing after the female malaria-bearing mosquito with his net, summoning the kangaroos to come from Australia, and wondering who or what the two spiders on the Ark had caught in their webs and were about to render extinct.

APE TO MAN. About that fossil record, evolutionary theory has it that fossils will show the transitions in the development of species. Creationists, however, claim that no transitional forms exist in the fossil record.

Counters Stephen Jay Gould, paleontologist at Harvard University: "What better transitional form could we desire than the oldest human, *Australopithecus afarensis,* with its apelike palate, its human upright stance, and a cranial capacity larger than any ape's of the same body size but a full 1,000 cubic centimeters below ours? If God made each of the half dozen human species discovered in ancient rocks, why did he create in an unbroken temporal sequence of progressively more modern features—increasing cranial capacity, reduced face and teeth, larger body size? Did he create to mimic evolution and test our faith thereby?"

NOW YOU SEE IT... By the strict canons of scientific method, say the creationists, evolution is not a scientific theory. Duane T. Gish, associate director of the Institute for Creation Research: "What criteria must be met for a theory to be considered as scientific in the usually accepted sense? George Gaylord Simpson has stated that, 'It is inherent in any definition of science that statements that cannot be checked by observation are not really about anything...or at the very least they are not science.' "After quoting a definition of science from the *Oxford English Dictionary,* Gish concludes: "Thus, for a theory to qualify as a scientific theory, it must be supported by events, processes, or properties which can be observed."

When queried about Gish's remarks, Simpson replied: "What he quotes from me was not presented as a definition of science. He does correctly quote one of several definitions of science from the *Oxford English Dictionary,* but he immediately goes on to give a definition of scientific theory which is not supported by me, by the *O.E.D.,* or by any scientist I know, especially his statement that no theory as to what has occurred is scientific unless the occurrence itself can now be witnessed. And quite naively, for so sly a character, he thus himself refutes the usual creationist claim that creation *is* a scientific theory. In fact a scientific theory is not itself an observation. It is an inference or a conclusion based on observations. Evolution is such a conclusion now based on literally millions of observations and refuted by none. Creationism is based on no

BEYOND EQUAL TIME

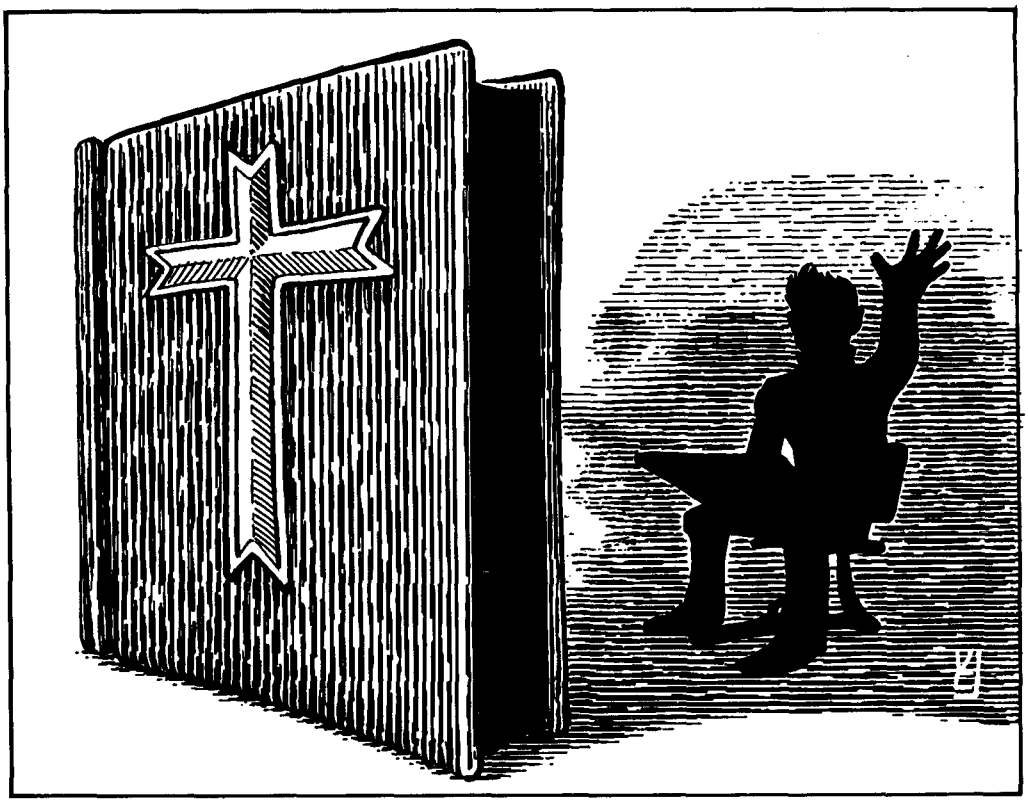
With all this in mind, we must muse about what the creationists really want. After the Florida House Education Committee voted 7 to 6 in favor of an "equal time" bill in 1980, the St. Petersburg *Times* wrote: "*In practice,* the bill would simply end the teaching of evolution—and perhaps all science—because few teachers and school boards would consent to teach the alternative theories the bill espouses." "And this may be something creationists would like to see," notes Dr.

Frederick Edwords, Editor of *Creation/Evolution.* "The April 1979 *Acts & Facts* [Published by the Institute for Creation Research] stated: 'We are not trying to exclude evolution from public schools, unless creation is also excluded.' Nell Segraves [mother of Kelly Segraves of "Scopes II" fame] put it more plainly in debate: 'It's totally unnecessary to bring origins into a science discussion. Textbooks today can give good science without discussing philosophy of origins at all.' Dr. [Robert] Kofahl, in the same debate, then immediately added, 'We would really be satisfied to see the subject of origins removed entirely from public school science....Let's *forget* about origins. Let's put *all* origins discussions into the philosophy department.'

"In Medford, Oregon," Edwords continues in *Creation/ Evolution,* "it seems creationists easily got their wish. When a young student of 'scientific creationism' started stumping for equal time, the Medford School Superintendent, Richard Langton, declared the following:

" 'Evolution is not taught in any of the schools of District 549C [Medford]; neither is creation for that matter. Down through the years, educators have learned that this is such a controversial subject that it is far better not to deal with it at all than to try to deal with it, even on a fair basis, pointing out the claims of both sides. At appropriate levels, where it is understood, we do teach simple genetics, but we in no way get into the question of the evolution of man.'

"We can now see the entire creationist legal program in all its glory. First they stump for equal time on the grounds that creationism is an alternate scientific view. When that fails, they argue for equal time on the grounds that creationism is an excluded *religion.* When that fails, they say that *neither* should be taught because both are *philosophies.* And by the time that fails, the school officials are so intimidated they begin to wish they had never even heard of evolution."



observations whatever. The words of Genesis are not themselves observations; their *literal* truth is manifestly disproved by many observations."

CHANCES ARE. Scientific creationists are fond of quoting probability statistics to counter the idea that the earliest forms of life might have been generated by a spontaneous reaction in nonliving matter. Edward Blick, professor of aerospace, mechanical, and nuclear engineering and one of the "scientists called by God," writes: "It is possible to show that the odds against forming even the simplest protein molecule by random chance is far greater than 10^{67} to one! (one followed by 67 zeros)."

As a working hypothesis, let us assume that his calculation is correct. So what? Think of anything that has in fact occurred; if you look back far enough, the probability of the occurrence of the sequence of events necessary for that event to have occurred is infinitesimal.

Shuffle a normal pack of playing cards. The probability of arriving at the precise arrangement of cards at which you in fact arrive is one in 8-followed-by-67-zeros. That is, the occurrence of Dr. Blick's hypothesized event is eight times *more likely* than the arrangement of cards you arrived at by one simple shuffle of the pack.

Imagine your four grandparents at their time of birth. With all the choices and chances in life, not the least of which is the number of live sperm that never fertilize an egg, what is the probability that two generations later you would *at this exact moment* be reading this article? And yet, here you are.

CONSERVATIVE OBSERVATIONS. Even the creationists "observe" evolution—but they call it something else. Morris: "All *observed* instances of natural selection involve conservative adaptations to environment (e.g., the peppered moth), not generation or preservation of mutants of higher order."

Gish: "As members of a species disperse into small groups,

TACTICS AND ETHICS

With the dual claim of being scientists and having been "called by God for a distinctive and much-needed ministry," one might suppose that the ethics of the "scientific" creationists would be beyond reproach. Let's look at the record.

Says Dr. Niles Eldredge, curator of the Department of Invertebrates at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City: "Before school boards or parent groups, creationists are fond of 'debating' scientists by bombarding the typically ill-prepared biologist or geologist with a plethora of allegations, rang-

ing from the second law of thermodynamics (said to falsify evolution outright) to the supposed absence of fossils intermediate between 'major kinds.' No scientist is equally at home in all realms of physics, chemistry, geology, and biology in this day of advanced specialization. Not all the proper retorts spring readily to mind. Retorts there are, but the game is usually lost anyway, as rebuttals strike an audience as simply another set of authoritarian statements they must take on faith." But the slipperiness of the creationists goes beyond tactics.

In 1961 Morris and a coauthor quoted an article by evolutionists Ross and Rezak as follows: "Most visitors [to the Lewis Overthrust of Glacier National Park, Montana], especially those who stay on the roads, get the impression that the Belt strata are undisturbed and lie almost flat today as they did when deposited in the sea which vanished so many million years ago." This purported lack of folded or crumbled landscape was cited by Morris and his coauthor as evidence of a universal flood.

However, and quite importantly, these esteemed creationists neglected to quote the very next sentence in the article by Ross and Rezak: "Actually they are folded, and in certain places, they are intensely so." Did this extremely sloppy scholarship by Morris and associate come about by unethical intent or by gross negligence?

David Black, at *Next* magazine, wrote recently that "occasionally [the creationists] are caught in a dishonesty so flagrant it cannot be finessed. In a recent copy of the Institute's publication, *Impact,* Gary E. Parker, Ed.D., a research associate at the Institute, quoted Stephen Jay Gould, Ph.D., of Harvard University, a well-known evolutionist, as though Gould were making a pro-creationist point: 'As Gould says, our ability to classify both living and fossil species distinctly and using the same criteria fit splendidly with creationist tenets.'

" 'Those bastards,' Gould said. 'Look what they did. Let me read you the paragraph that it comes from. "This notion of species as natural kinds fit"—past tense—"splendidly with creationist tenets of a pre-Darwinian age." What I'm referring to is an old theory, not what I say. I'm just making a historical comment.'

"But Parker," notes *Next*'s Black, "took the historical comment and, by changing the tense of the verb 'fit' and by dropping 'of a pre-Darwinian age,' made it sound as though Gould uncharacteristically were championing creationism. This is not simply a case of a creationist presenting a dissenting interpretation of a fact; Parker clearly has twisted Gould's meaning."

Says Dr. John W. Patterson, professor of materials science and engineering at Iowa State University: "Many creationists, including some with Ph.D.s and Professorships in science or engineering, assert that evolution violates the second law of thermodynamics. About the kindest thing we can say for these individuals is that they have exhibited gross incompetence as regards the second law and the concept of entropy....[But] more than mere incompetence must be seriously considered. It is quite likely that at least some of these creationists really know better, but knowingly choose to deceive their audiences about thermodynamics and evolution."

Dr. Sheldon Matlow, research consultant in chemical physics, in an open letter to chemists at large, also zeroes in on the use of the second law: "It is clear that Dr. Gish does not know any thermodynamics, or he is deliberately denying those parts of thermodynamics which disprove his arguments in favor of creation. In either case, he is presenting a perverted view of science to nonscientists with the express purpose of having this view *taught in the public schools as science!*"

Dr. Colin Patterson, senior vertebrate paleontologist at the British Museum in London, agreed to be interviewed on tape by creationist Luther D. Sunderland. Sunderland, it turned

such that they become geographically isolated, they become reproductively isolated as well. Each such group will carry with it only a fraction of the total gene pool, or genetic characteristics, of the population from which it split off. Being a small group, a high degree of in-breeding will result. Such a process may result in the rapid resurfacing of genetic traits that were previously suppressed in the large population due to dilution through intermarriage throughout the entire population. As a result, 'tribes' or 'races' arise."

Without benefit of millions (or, on their account, thousands) of years of observations, these esteemed creationists scientifically observe "conservative adaptations to environment" and the development of tribes or races. There's another word for that phenomenon; the word is *evolution.*

ENTROPY. On "the second law of thermodynamics" the scientific creationists pin their claim to an absolute disproof of evolution. Let's follow Morris's development of this argument.

"*Any* evolutionary model of the universe must conflict with one of the most fundamental laws of science, namely the Second Law of Thermodynamics."

"*The Second Law (Law of Energy Decay)* states that every system left to its own devices always tends to move from order to disorder, its energy tending to be transformed into lower levels of availability, finally reaching the state of complete randomness and unavailability for further work." (While there are many complex concepts tied into the Second Law, this simplified definition is suitable for the present purpose. Please note the qualification "left to its own devices.")

"For the evolution of a more advanced organism, however, energy must somehow be gained, order must be increased, and information added. The Second Law says that this will not happen in any natural process unless external factors enter to make it happen." (Please note the qualification "unless external factors enter.")

Although it is true that the two laws of thermodynamics are defined in terms of isolated systems, it is also true that in the real world there is no such thing as an isolated system. *All* systems in reality are open systems."

"There do exist a few types of systems in the world where one sees an apparent increase in order, superficially offsetting the decay tendency specified by the Second Law. Examples are the growth of a seed into a tree, the growth of a fetus into an adult animal, and the growth of a pile of bricks and girders into a building."

Contrary to the impression created here, the maturation of an animal from fetus to adult is not "an *apparent* increase in order" but a *real* increase in order. It is possible because an animal is not an isolated system. It can take energy from sunlight, food, water, air, and so forth. Since there is not an isolated system anywhere on earth, the maturation of fetus into

out later, used portions of that tape to present to legislators, and on October 4, 1979, Patterson wrote to Sunderland: "I have received a heap of paper from the Dept. of Public Instruction of the State of Iowa, including a large part of the transcript, telling me that you used it and your talk with Miles Eldredge [another prominent evolutionist] to demonstrate that he and I support the teaching of scientific creationism in public schools. I do not support that. I think the imposition of such a requirement would be an intolerable curtailment of the liberty of those teachers, would be logically indefensible, and educationally retrograde."

Dr. George Gaylord Simpson was a professor of vertebrate paleontology at Harvard University and is now president of the Simroe Foundation, which does research in ecology. Calling Simpson "the world's foremost evolutionary paleontologist," Gish has quoted him. Here's what Simpson says about those quotations: "[Dr. Gish] has lifted them out of context and then interpreted them in such a way as to distort their meaning to an extent that I can only consider dishonest....he cited me as support for the view that there are *no* transitional forms, whereas I said the exact opposite and gave examples.

"He also interprets my remarks as meaning that no ancestral types occur in the fossil record, whereas they do in great numbers and I said so." The scientific creationists' pronouncements can be refuted, Simpson notes, but "if I tried to answer all their silly talk and to refute all their lies I would have no time to do anything else."

BELIEFS VS. FACTS

Appealing to the American public to teach the "two models" on the basis of fairness is misleading.

It creates the false impression that the scientific community is about equally divided on the issue and that it is still up in the air. In every scientific discipline related to the topic, the overwhelming number consider the occurrence of evolution *a scientific fact.* That evolution is called a scientific theory does not mean it is "just a speculation." In science, every comprehensive explanation of some aspect of the workings of the universe is called a theory.

It also implies that there are only two models from which to choose. This is not the case. Some people believe that we were brought here by extraterrestrials from other galaxies; many believe in a multitude of gods; many believe that each of us is reincarnated from a former life; others believe this universe was started by the occupants of another universe; and on and on. The question is whether every belief is to be accorded equal teaching time in the classroom of science, along with the theory that has come to be accepted by scientists. There may be other forums for it, but this, I submit, is not the function of a science classroom.

Science is the process of observing and drawing theories and conclusions from the observations. "Scientific creationism," on the other hand, *starts* with a conclusion and then engages in apologetics to justify that preconceived conclusion. In acquiescing to the teaching of creation alongside evolution, we are destroying the one thing we all agree differentiates humans from the other animals (hint: look at the name of this magazine). The idea of teaching "scientific" creationism in the public schools is bankrupt: scientifically, logically, educationally, philosophically, ethically, and constitutionally. ◧

adult, the maturation of seed into tree, and the evolution of a single-cell animal into a human being *do not in any way violate the second law of thermodynamics.*

DISPUTES. The creationists gleefully point out differences among evolutionists. These differences center around the *methods* by which evolution is achieved (for example, does natural selection work gradually or in bursts?); the *fact* of evolution remains unscathed. Scientists view disagreement and new discoveries and new ideas as the health of science: it is alive and vital. This in no way diminishes their conviction that evolution has indeed occurred.

There are many other areas of the science of evolution that are attacked by the creationists. All of their arguments start with accepting on faith the premise that the Bible is literally true. Then, after going through long apologetic presentations, they not surprisingly end up with the conclusion that the Bible is literally true.

Lest you think I oversimplify their circular reasoning, I leave you with this quote from Henry M. Morris, leader of the movement for teaching "scientific" creationism in the schools:

"If the Bible is the Word of God—and it is—and if Jesus Christ is the infallible and omniscient Creator—and He is—then it must be firmly believed that the world and all things in it were created in six natural days and that the long geological ages of evolutionary history never really took place at all." This in a little book of his called *Scientific Creationism.*

Besides being a Certified Public Accountant, Robert Steiner is a professional magician. He gives presentations at colleges and high schools and to civic organizations arguing a pro-reason, pro-freedom approach in the fields of psychic phenomena, scientific creationism, and unbalanced budgetary thinking.

WHAT'S GOOD FOR ☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆ AMERICA IS GOOD FOR ☆☆☆ THE ARMY

What should Congress do about the draft? Here's how to build a superior military relying on traditional American principles of freedom.

BY MICHAEL HINZ

SHOULD THE DRAFT be revived in America? Those who oppose conscription as a violation of individual liberty point to the senselessness of striving to protect freedom through the use of forced labor. Those on the other side of the fence maintain that it would be foolishly shortsighted to allow a free society to perish rather than defend it by means involving coercion of some of its citizens.

Does such a hopeless dilemma face us, a people purporting to uphold the liberty of all its citizens? Fortunately, it does not. There is no practical reason why the defense of a nation must rely upon forced labor. In reality, there are any number of ways to secure an adequate defense—voluntarily, without the draft or its "soft" version, draft registration.

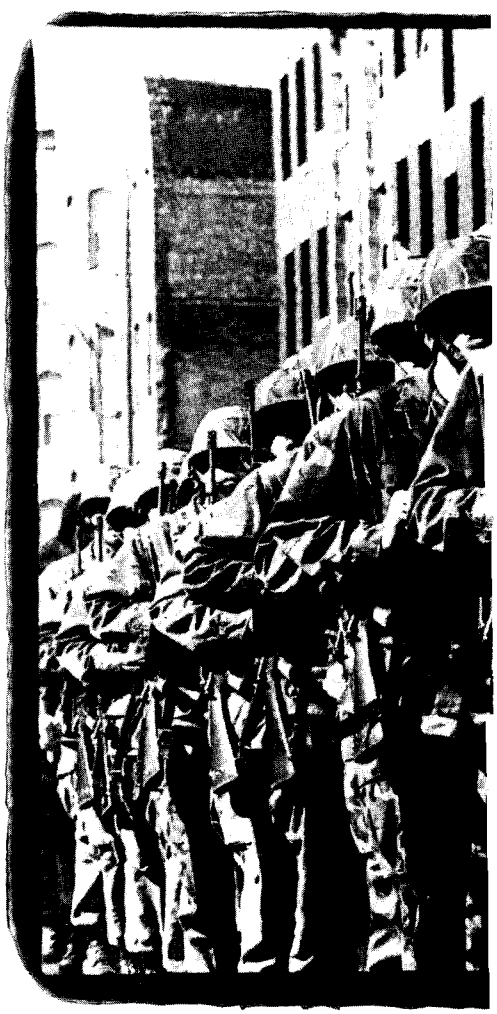
DO WITHOUT A DRAFT?

For the United States, conscription is a comparative latecomer. Until the Civil War the drafting of soldiers was unheard of for this nation, and even in that conflict conscripts never accounted for more than two percent of the entire Union force. At the close of the war the draft was put to sleep. But old habits have a way of reestablishing themselves with increasing readiness, each time becoming harder to stamp out.

Conscription was revived during the First World War, where it provided just over half of the total US forces. Most of those who were drafted, however, would probably have volunteered anyway: one of the biggest problems faced by recruiters was not that of meeting quotas but of weeding out the hordes of underage or otherwise unqualified volunteers seeking to give the Kaiser a kick in the pants. Again, after the war the draft was put away.

It was not until World War II that the draft became a permanent piece of Americana. Since the end of that war, an entire generation has been reared on the idea of the draft as a constant, fixed entity, like air or water. Young males learned to adjust to the idea that they must someday be ready to put aside their own lives when ordered to do so. Until recently, to suggest a permanent end to the draft was tantamount to proposing that California be annexed to the Soviet Union.

Since the ending of conscription in 1973, there have been recurring worries, many from the military, about permanently abolishing the draft. If in one year there were news articles and TV reports on the failure of recruiters to meet their quotas, in the next year there would be charges that the all-volunteer force has led to a nearly all-black force or to a military made up of high school dropouts, dope



fiends, and near-mental defectives—in short, to a force so short of competent personnel that not to return to a draft would be to *invite* trouble from the Russians.

It is unclear, however, how a return to conscription would solve these problems. For instance, how would a draft change the racial imbalance in the services? Even though such a problem, if it is a problem, does exist, it existed prior to the ending of the draft and would remain even if a draft were reinstated.

Consider the figures for 1979, the only year since the draft ended in which the forces did not meet their recruiting goals. Blacks made up 12 percent of the overall US population and 19 percent of the military. Enlistments in 1979 fell 18,000 short for the Army, 7,000 for the Navy, and 2,000 for the Air Force. The Marine Corps, traditionally the most difficult service to man, met its 1979 enlistment goal. While at first sight the 27,000 that the services fell short might seem a sizable amount, out of a total armed force of over two million souls it represents a gnat on an elephant's back. Even during a draft, volunteers are always accepted ahead of conscripts. One can easily see that even if the services had used all white draftees to fill 1979's shortfall, the military's racial makeup would remain about the same.

What about the charge that abolition of the draft has created a force that is substantially less intelligent than in previous years? The figures do not bear it out. The number of high school graduates entering the services in 1980 (59 percent) was *higher* than the number entering during the 1960-64 period (54 percent). Of all the services, the Army took in the lowest percentage of high school graduates in 1980 (54 percent), but by the first half of 1981 it had boosted that figure to 74 percent. Reading skills of recruits have been about the same as in the same age group in the population at large. Further, while overall Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores have been declining, the Department of Defense's records show that, taken as a whole, the quality of personnel going into the service has been about the same as before Vietnam. Secretary of the Navy John Lehman recently commented that current recruits are better qualified than at any time in the past.

Lionel Delevingne/Picture Group

In looking at the issue of a draft versus an all-volunteer force, it is important to remember that what many advocates of the draft have in mind is not only a force sufficient in size to ward off attacks against the United States but a gargantuan defense network intended to provide for the protection of the entire free world—as well as large regions of the not-so-free world. For years, US presidents and members of Congress have been timidly proposing to Japan, Germany, Britain, and other friendly countries that they bear more of the burden of their own defense: If the US government would follow through on this, and would not worry about being able to intervene in situations all over the world that do not pose a threat to US citizens, the difficulty of manning the military would be substantially cut. In the United States today, far more than enough volunteers are available to staff a standing force capable of defending the country.

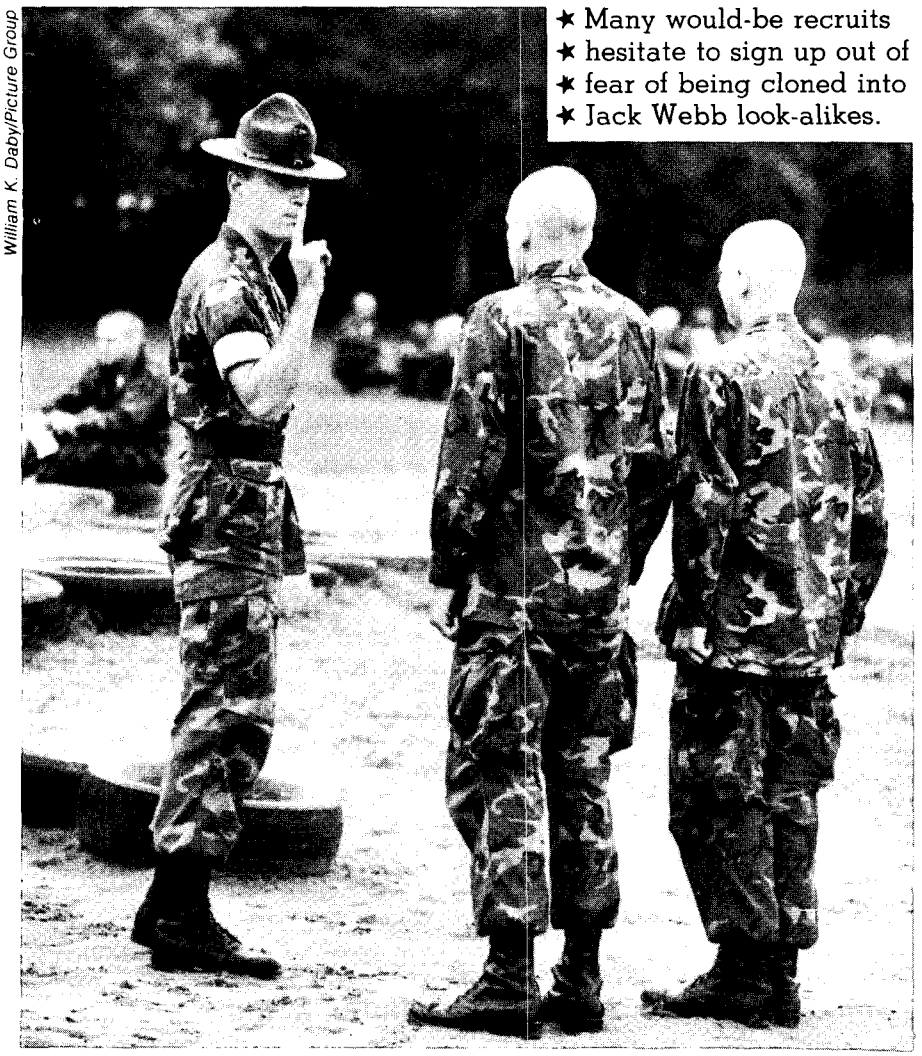
An adequate defense calls for more than just a standing force, however. In any serious conflict, casualties mount quickly, and so trained reinforcements are needed; in a protracted war, even these may need to be replenished from the untrained populace. Too large a standing force becomes exorbitantly costly and has the potential of leading to military adventurism or even to a police state; too small a force risks being overwhelmed before fresh support can be mustered.

It is the recruitment of these reinforcements that induces many people to support at least draft registration, it is argued, as the only way to provide for a sure source of fresh replacement troops to fill standing force losses in an emergency.

Others are convinced that even this would not be fast enough. They point out that inducting, processing, training, and deploying even registered replacements would take weeks or months—time not likely to be available in an emergency—and that only a full-blown draft can solve the problem.

Both groups err in resorting to the use of force for a solution before exhausting all available voluntary possibilities. One answer may lie in a new approach to the military reserve system.

At present the armed services of the United States rely upon reserve forces of two types. First, there is the Ready



William K. Daby/Picture Group

★ Many would-be recruits
★ hesitate to sign up out of
★ fear of being cloned into
★ Jack Webb look-alikes.

Reserve Force, made up of volunteers who contribute one weekend each month plus two weeks each year to train in the service of their choice. There is also the Individual Ready Reserve (IRR), composed of ex-service personnel who have completed the first three or four years of their initial six-year hitch. (All first-time enlistments are for six years, not, as is often believed, four. Usually the final two years are spent in the inactive reserves.)

Unlike ordinary reservists, the Individual Ready Reservist is not required to attend any sort of meetings or training sessions. (In fact, that no sort of continued training or practice is provided to IRR members is one of the objections frequently leveled at the IRR). Nor are they expected to conform to military rules. Except in the most extreme emergency, they cannot be called back to active duty. Their sole function is to provide a pool of trained personnel from which the country can draw in time of need.

In recent years the role that the reserves might fill as a rapid source of reinforcements for the active forces has been greatly neglected, however. The 1979 budget for the reserves stood at just under $7 billion, just six percent of the total defense bill. Equipment for the Ready Reserve consists largely of aged regular military discards; training is insufficient; and unit activation time is far too long. In 1980 the total reserves were short 350,000 members, or 20 percent of desired peacetime strength—a considerably higher figure than the approximately 27,000 troops the active forces were lacking at the start of 1980.

Many officers believe that the reserves are so hopelessly unprepared that to continue the program at all is a waste of billions of dollars per year. The fact is that while Congress and the Pentagon pour massive sums into huge strategic weapons systems, into propping up authoritarian and dictatorial governments around the world, and into simple waste and fraud, the reserves are being allowed to atrophy.

In a study of the postdraft military, John B. Keeley, a former Army colonel, cites three major problems currently hindering the IRR, which has the potential of eliminating the need for draft registration, from being an effective force. First, the services fail to maintain up-to-date accounts of the addresses of IRR members. If these reservists were ever needed, it would take weeks just to locate all of them. Second, there are no provisions for preserving the members' job skills. While some degree of proficiency will remain long after discharge, some skills, such as tank gunner, decline rapidly without frequent practice.

The problem of locating IRR members quickly is easily and cheaply solved—simply do periodic mailings to make sure that members are keeping their services posted as to their whereabouts. The problem of declining abilities would be more costly to remedy. Keeley suggests that IRR members be paid an incentive for keeping their skills up to par by attending special training sessions.

The third and possibly the biggest obstacle to a better IRR force is the fact that one may become a member only by passing through the portals of active duty. Some top officers, among them Gen. Bernard W. Rogers, have expressed great interest in beefing up the IRR by drafting into it individuals who have never been in any of the services. Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) has also suggested drafting only for the reserves.

WILLING RESERVISTS

If the reserves are to be boosted with untrained individuals, however, why not offer voluntary incentives for joining, instead of drafting people? A program to induce eligible volunteers to enter the IRR could do away with any need for a draft even in wartime. While this body would consist largely of untrained rather than experienced personnel, it would create a quick pool of manpower for the services to draw upon in time of need. Anyone drafted at such a time, it must be remembered, would likewise be untrained. Since IRR volunteers could be at least partly processed at the time they sign up, such an IRR could dramatically cut the time it would take to bring in fresh troops and would be at least as fast as a draft in replenishing combat losses.

The Individual Ready Reserve could be split into two groups: those with

previous military training and those without. To further reduce activation time, those without service experience might be offered a further inducement to attend basic training before entering the reserve pool.

The simplest way to operate such a system would be for the service to pay a single lump sum to anyone signing up for the inactive reserve. After receiving an amount of, perhaps, $1,000 in exchange for, say, a five-year sign-up, a volunteer could return home and forget all about the military—unless a war broke out, at which time he would be called into the service. This sort of system would be almost identical to the current draft registration, except that those signing up would be doing so willingly. Under this plan he or she would get no further pay or benefits beyond the original sum unless called up for active duty.

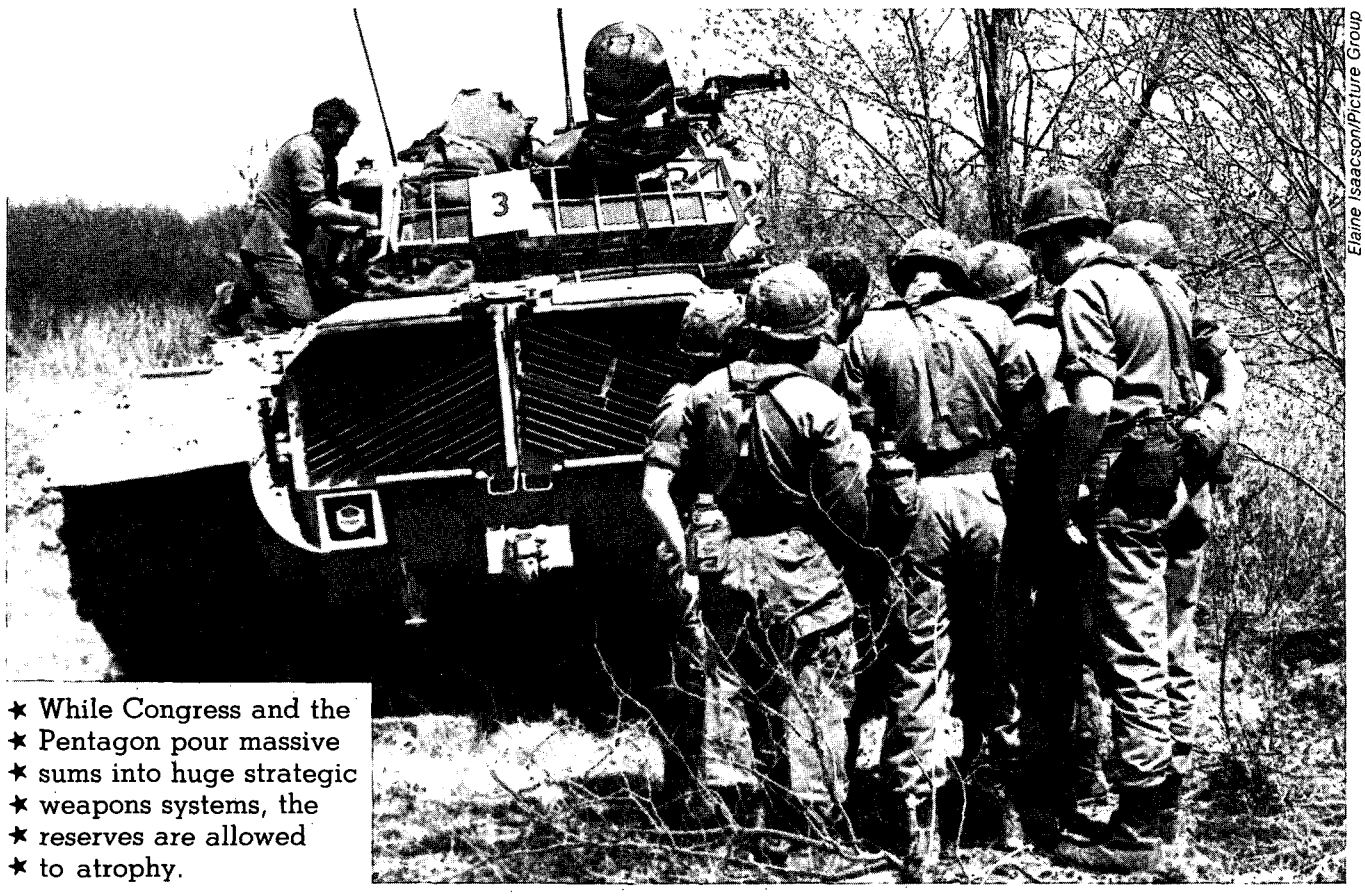
What young person fresh out of high school and attempting to establish himself would not be tempted to participate in such a program? He could do whatever he wished with the money received: make a down payment on a car, use it to help begin a college education, lay it away as savings, or simply fritter it away.

The important result would be that no threat of force would be exercised against him, as now is the case with registration. Also, should the country ever find it necessary to call him into service, it would be getting a consenting volunteer rather than an apathetic inductee of the type drafts traditionally produce. Of course, with the incentive money pocketed, the volunteer might change his mind come a call to arms. But this should pose no more of a problem than that of draft dodgers under the alternative.

A straight cash payment is not the only inducement that might be used to draw IRR volunteers. Inactive reserve time could be exchanged for upper-level education or trade schooling. Four years of college tuition might be the compensation for 10 or more years in the inactive service. This would be especially beneficial in acquiring qualified officer material (especially medical personnel), an on-going problem for the armed forces. The linking of service-related educational benefits to time in the reserve has been repeatedly advocated by military experts Charles C. Moskos, of Northwestern University, and Morris Janowitz, of the University of Chicago, as a means of solving the shortage of reservists.

Voluntary registration would be more expensive than would forced registration. Assuming that the cost of *administering* the two programs would be the same, signing into a voluntary reserve program all of the approximately 3.5 million 19-year-olds who were in 1980 made to register with the Selective Service would cost $3.5 billion. This is assuming an incentive fee of $1,000—the actual amount might be more or less, depending on how much cash it took to induce people to enter the IRR.

In fact, of course, there is no need for such a large number of reservists. On the generous assumption that it would be desirable to sign up one-fifth of the 3.5 million—that's 700,000, or double the current shortfall in the reserves—the cash inducement would run $700 million. Suppose, now, that we quadruple that sum so that we can provide additional incentives, equipment, and personnel for a training program. The cost still comes short of $3 billion—surely worth the moral benefit of not having to impose a draft. In just 1977 alone, military contract cost overruns totaled over $17 billion. Placed next to the 1981 defense budget of $157.5 billion, the cost of such a voluntary plan is really quite low.



Elaine Isaacson/Picture Group

★ While Congress and the ★ Pentagon pour massive ★ sums into huge strategic ★ weapons systems, the ★ reserves are allowed ★ to atrophy.

MODERN MANPOWER

Just as it is possible to be innovative about beefing up the reserve pool, there are numerous options for increasing the ranks of the active-duty military short of the use of forced labor. A slight adjustment in age requirements for initial enlistees—for example, raising the maximum age from 27 to 28 years—would result in a significant difference in the number of eligible recruits without reducing their performance to any significant degree.

Changing the current retirement system, whereby military personnel are eligible for benefits after only 20 years' service, could also help keep trained and experienced members in a useful capacity for a longer time and so help alleviate the need for fresh and untrained replacements. At present, an enlisted person can retire at the age of 38 and immediately go to work doing the same job in the civilian sector, drawing a paycheck *and* his service pension. A study conducted by the Department of Defense has already suggested changing this retirement system to put it more in keeping with civilian practice.

A more liberal use of women in the armed forces would decrease the need for so many male volunteers. While the ending of the draft in 1971 forced the services to crack the door open a little wider to women than in the past, there is still plenty of room for expanding this option. According to the Brookings Institution, even with current assignment policies (no combat duty) left untouched, 25 percent of all enlisted personnel could be women without decreasing fighting capability.

The Army currently fills about 61,000 slots with women and is reluctantly aiming at a 1986 target of 87,500, or 13 percent of the entire force. In some fields the concentration of women is much higher than in others. For instance, women make up 40 percent of soldiers in some medical units. This bothers Lt.-Gen. Robert G. Yerks, Army deputy chief of staff for personnel, who fears that the figure is far too high. It is, in fact, much higher in civilian hospitals. So, what is the source of his apprehension—perhaps an extensive and costly Department of Defense study? Nothing so complex for Yerks, who says 40 percent is too high because "I have a gut feeling it is."

The low number of military women is certainly not due to any lack of interest. A University of Michigan study found that there is only a slight difference in the degree to which men and women are attracted to the idea of a service career. So why aren't women flocking into the armed forces? Prof. Charles C. Moskos states that "the real reason why women are excluded from the mainstream of the Army is simply there is no pressure to let them in to it from either men or women."

Another strategy for broadening the base from which the military can recruit is to open up enlistment to mildly handicapped individuals. Currently the services demand near-physical perfection of their recruits, no matter what task they are to perform. While this policy may have made sense long ago when soldiering was synonymous with long, grueling marches under heavy loads, it is too restrictive today, when only 25 percent of military jobs are directly combat-related. Discounting students and those in prison, 75 percent of the pool of 17- to 21-year-olds do not meet the armed forces' standards. About 4 in 10 would be rejected solely on the grounds of physical or other disabilities. Yet who would be willing to claim that such a large percentage of this age group is so disabled as not to be able to type a letter or drive a truck or operate a radio?

Many of the disabilities barred by the services are relatively minor and are not really disabling at all. Take the case of Sen. Barry Goldwater. Goldwater attempted to join the service in the 1940s and would have been turned down flat because of a knee injury. He managed to gain entry only by distracting the attention of the examining physician. The "disability" proved to be no hardship at all, and Goldwater went on to become an outstanding military pilot.

Of course, there are some jobs for which even a person with a minor knee injury would not be suited. But, as even the government itself has for years pointed out, matching the right person to the right job can be a useful way of tapping human resources. There is simply no reason why a truck mechanic with a missing finger or toe should be less efficient than one with a full set of digits or why a one-eyed office worker should be less able to function than in the same capacity in the private sector. It is ironic that the Defense Department *does* employ handicapped (even severely handicapped) workers in civilian roles, frequently assigning them jobs right alongside military employees, with no drop in productivity. Yet the services will not accept an enlistee with so much as a perforated eardrum.

Military expert William Snyder, a political scientist at Texas A&M University and a former high-ranking Army officer, believes much more could be done by the services to open up this untapped pool of manpower. "Remedial medical treatment and more effective matching of physical skills with military jobs," he points out, "might serve to increase the number of qualified applicants. In addition, uniformed physical standards may be unnecessary given the range of tasks which people in uniform now perform."

Besides an increased use of women and an adjustment of current recruitment policies, the services could augment their forces by broadening the use of civilian workers, both direct-hire and contract employees, and through "lateral hiring." In 1970 the *President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force* (the Gates Commission) recommended that upon ending the draft the services rely much more heavily upon civilian workers, and from 1973 to 1976, 48,000 uniformed slots were civilianized. In their book, *The End of the Draft,* Thomas Reeves and Karl Hess comment that "the Gates Commission is known to have intended even stronger recommendations for civilianization, especially of medical facilities, but to have toned these sections down under pressure from the Pentagon."

While there are some disadvantages to civilian military employees (not as mobile, can't be used in combat zones), there are also several very good points favoring their use. For example, civilians bring to the job substantial training. Also, civilians need far fewer costly transfers, a security-motivated feature of life in uniform. The biggest point, however, is that civilians can free difficult-to-obtain uniformed personnel for appropriate tasks. Every time a uniformed kitchen worker, maintenance man, typist, or mechanic is replaced with a civilian, one more hard-to-fill combat slot can be covered.

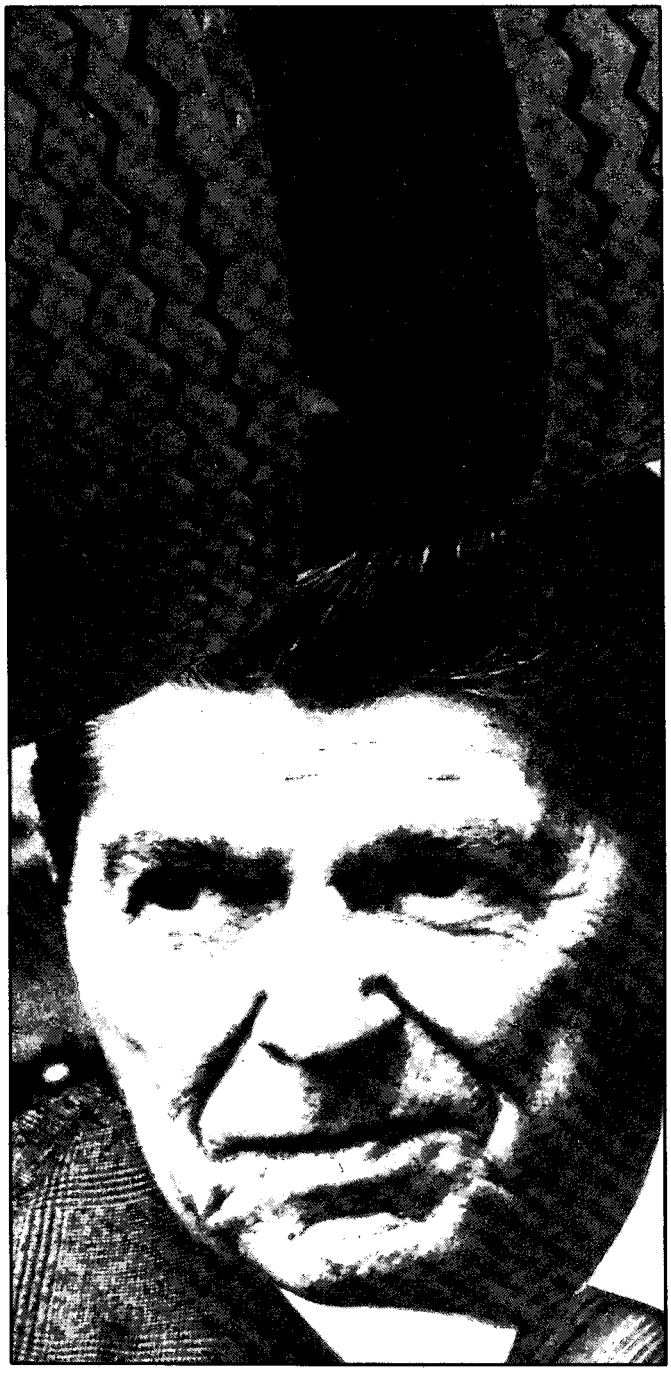
The least-costly use of civilians comes in the form of contracting out certain tasks to private companies. In the last few years the military has started to discover the savings to be gleaned from taking advantage of private contractors

(Continued on p. 46)

Regulation Retread

By Thomas Gale Moore

The Reagan administration throws trucking deregulation into reverse.



THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, which had promised to get regulation off the backs of American industry, is apparently moving in exactly the opposite direction in some areas. While it may have frozen the promulgation of some new regulations and may be restricting the activities of the Environmental Protection Agency, it actually is repudiating the few successes to date of the deregulation movement. No doubt reducing the burden on industry of EPA, OSHA, and the Consumer Product Safety Commission is desirable, but the administration is turning right around and *re*regulating industries in which there has been significant progress toward eliminating regulation.

Starting in the mid-1970s under President Ford and subsequently under President Carter, the government moved toward reducing and eliminating regulation in certain areas where it was clearest that the marketplace can protect consumers' interests better than the cold hand of government can. The most successful initiative has been airline deregulation, which will eliminate all government economic controls by 1985. Significant deregulation has also occurred in other sectors, such as motor carriers, railroads, and telecommunications.

DEREGULATION

For example, the Motor Carrier Act of 1980 substantially relaxed controls on trucking. For 45 years the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) had, among other things, had a say-so over what kind of freight each trucker could haul, where he could haul it, and how much he could charge for the service. The most significant provision of the 1980 act gives truckers freedom in these areas. No longer does an applicant have to show that any requested new authority for where and what to haul is consistent with "the public convenience and necessity." Instead, the burden of proof is shifted to the protestor to show that the requested authority is inconsistent with the public convenience and necessity. Under the new law, only those motor carriers that already have authority to offer the proposed service can file protests; and if their revenues would be cut into by the new competition, this is not to be construed to be in itself inconsistent with the public convenience and necessity, as it had been under previous ICC regulation.

The act also requires the ICC to revise its procedures so as to reduce restrictions on carriers' operating authority—restrictions that had previously, for example, forced truckers in many instances to return home with an empty truck rather than picking up a return haul, kept them from serving intermediate points located along their authorized routes, confined them to narrow territories, and limited the specific products to be carried. In addition, truckers can raise or lower their rates by 10 percent without seeking ICC approval.

The Staggers Rail Act of 1980 also accords considerable new pricing freedom to our hard-pressed railroads, another industry regulated by the ICC. Under the new law, ICC jurisdiction over rates is limited to those rates where railroads exercise "market dominance." This frees nearly two-thirds of railroad rates from maximum-rate regulation. Railroads have also been given more freedom to reduce rates.

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC), meanwhile, has proposed changes that could significantly increase competition in broadcasting and telecommunications. New carriers have

Photograph by Mehosh Dziadzio

been authorized to compete with the Bell system's long-distance service. Competition in the sale of telephone equipment has also been fostered. New competition with broadcasters has been permitted.

Those who study regulation have long recognized that agencies tend to protect the interests of the industries they regulate. Studies by experts from the whole spectrum of political persuasion, from the Nader left to the American Conservative Union right, have confirmed that the classical regulatory agencies that exercise economic controls over industries reduce competition at the expense of the public.

It wasn't meant to be that way, but here's how it happens: typically, industry-oriented individuals, because they have knowledge in the area, are appointed to commissions, often from industry itself or from Capitol Hill. Once in office, these regulators perceive their duty as protecting the financial health of the companies they regulate. Indeed, the legislation setting up these agencies mentions such financial health as one of the goals of regulation. The easiest way to accomplish this is to reduce competition, thereby increasing rates and creating monopolies.

Airline deregulation best illustrates the effects of regulation and the advantage of a free market. Since deregulation and after adjusting for a huge increase in fuel prices, fares have fallen. Moreover, the frequency of service to virtually all sizes of cities has expanded; at the same time, many existing smaller carriers have managed to increase their profits, and many others have sprung up to meet needs in markets too small for the major airlines.

In the short period since trucking was partially deregulated, rates have decreased, especially for truck-load shipments. Service to small communities has improved, and complaints from shippers have declined. Improved service and lower rates by for-hire carriers have led to a decline in private carriage (hauling by the truck fleets owned by such firms as Sears, Roebuck and Montgomery Ward).

FCC deregulation, for its part, has led to a virtual explosion of new equipment—for example, new phones with a variety of special features, answering machines, and automated dialing systems. In addition, several companies are challenging Bell with lower long-distance rates. Proposed changes in channel spacing and in strength of signal could bring a large expansion in the number of radio and TV stations. Cable-TV is growing rapidly, providing for the home video screen additional coverage of everything from news, sports, and children's programs to religion and pornography.

ROLLING BACKWARD

Now, however, comes the Reagan administration. Surprisingly, it may be in the process of reversing this trend through the appointment of industry-oriented individuals who so far seem bent on turning back the clock. The progress that had been made in deregulation is directly attributable to the appointments by Ford and by Carter of people who came from outside the regulated industries. In the main, these individuals were from academe; many were economists.

Alfred Kahn, an economist, with the help of Elizabeth Bailey, an economist, led the Civil Aeronautics Board in a major effort to deregulate the airlines. Congress enacted legislation only *after* observing that CAB-instituted reforms were leading to lower fares and better service.

Darius Gaskins, an economist, with the aid of Marcus Alexis, an economist, and Thomas Trantum, a Wall Street securities specialist, reduced entry restrictions in trucking and freed rail rates for a number of commodities. This in turn led Congress to consider legislation. The Motor Carrier Act, which reduced barriers to entry significantly, resulted from the pressure of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which threatened to completely deregulate the industry if Congress failed to act.

The new Republican administration, on the other hand, has appointed to head the ICC Reese Taylor, Jr., a lawyer from Nevada who formerly chaired the Nevada Public Utilities Commission. Prior to his appointment, Reese Taylor had represented the Arizona Motor Tariff Bureau; he recently argued against permitting unregulated entry into the taxi industry in Nevada. According to the *New York Times*, Mr. Taylor was first suggested for the position by Edward Wheeler, the lawyer for the Teamsters' Union, which has bitterly opposed deregulation. Before his death in May, Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the Teamsters, is reported to have given President Reagan a letter naming Taylor as his choice. Nothing in Mr. Taylor's record indicates that he knows or understands the issues involved in deregulation. In fact, he fits the mold of earlier appointees who supported industry regulation.

What is particularly distressing about this appointment is that Reagan's own ICC Transition Team emphasized the importance of selecting a chairman who was clearly identified with deregulation, so as to underline the administration's commitment to the free market. The Transition Team's emphasis on continued deregulation was echoed both by Reagan's Task Force on Regulatory Reform, chaired by Murray Weidenbaum, now chairman of Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers, and by the Transportation Policy Task Force, whose membership included Drew Lewis, currently Secretary of Transportation.

The administration has made its policy quite clear on the regulation of surface freight transportation. Immediately upon taking office it asked Darius Gaskins, the deregulation-minded chairman, to resign. Once Taylor was appointed, deregulators Alexis and Trantum also resigned, without a peep of protest from the administration. That leaves no one on the commission in favor of continuing to roll back regulation.

Already, the commission is attempting to construe the deregulating Motor Carrier Act of 1980 in the most restrictive way. Applicants for general-commodity certificates are being denied because they cannot show that they have shippers who want to use their services for all possible commodities. Requests for authority to serve wide territories have been restricted to particular cities. Applicants for increased service are once again being required to make their case in oral hearings before an administrative law judge. While Taylor has responded to critics with the contention that he is simply upholding the 1980 law, the ICC's new rulings appear to be inconsistent with the spirit of the Motor Carrier Act of 1980.

Apparently reregulation is beginning in communications, also. Charles Ferris, whom Carter appointed chairman of the FCC and who guided the commission in reducing economic regulation, has been replaced by Mark Fowler. Mr. Fowler was a broadcast lobbyist who represented the Virginia Association of Broadcasters. His firm's clients include many broadcast and private radio licensees. *Broadcasting* Magazine, which repre-

(Continued on p. 64.)

Infant Formula: WHO Mixes It Up

By James Hickel

One ingredient has been missing from the infant formula controversy—attention to the facts.

MULTINATIONAL corporations, we are told, have been killing Third World babies by selling infant formula to their mothers. The argument goes as follows: There is nothing intrinsically harmful about infant formula, but poor and ignorant mothers in underdeveloped nations mix it with polluted water or dilute it excessively, and the children die as a result. It would be much better if Third World mothers would simply breast-feed their children, but they have been deceived by the advertising and marketing practices of infant formula companies into thinking that formula is better for their children than breast milk.

In order to end these marketing practices, the argument continues, the United Nations' World Health Organization (WHO) was compelled to establish an international code governing the marketing of infant formula. By adopting the code by a vote of 118 to 1 last May, the member governments of the World Health Assembly (WHA) agreed that all advertising of infant formula should be prohibited, that health professionals should receive informational materials from formula companies only with prior government approval, and that all infant-feeding information should be either designed and disseminated or at least controlled by government.

The United States was the only member of WHA to vote against the code, precipitating the Reagan administration's first large-scale public relations disaster. Two high-level State Department officials resigned in protest, both houses of Congress passed resolutions condemning the vote, and there remained little doubt in the public mind that the American vote indicated a concern for corporate profits at the expense of the lives of little children.

Suppose, however, that the following were true:

- Most Third World mothers are already well aware that breast milk is better for their children than infant formula.
- The majority of the Third World mothers who do not breast-feed make the decision out of necessity; for various reasons, they cannot breast-feed their children.
- Poor growth rates have been detected in some Third World infants who have been fed only breast milk without some form of supplemental nourishment.
- There is no evidence that advertising by infant formula manufacturers has influenced the infant-feeding choices of Third World mothers.

Although these statements may sound as if they were lifted straight out of the pamphlets and propaganda pieces of the formula manufacturers, they are based directly on findings by the *World Health Organization* itself. The fact is that no causal relationship has ever been established between infant formula marketing and Third World infant mortality. One must wonder, then, whether the goals of the infant formula opponents involve more than the preservation of lives.

BETWEEN 1975 and 1978, the World Health Organization undertook a study in nine countries, seven of them in the Third World. In all, nearly 23,000 mothers of infants were interviewed. The results are presented in a

WHO publication released in 1981, *Contemporary Patterns of Breast-Feeding.* Although the report's introduction laments a worldwide decline in breast-feeding, with frequent references to the advertising and promotion of breast-milk substitutes and particularly harmful effects for the poverty-stricken areas of the Third World, the hard data presented in the body of the report tell quite a different story.

To begin with, the study found that the vast majority of mothers breast-feed at least to some extent. For most socio-economic groups in all nine countries, the fraction was over 90 percent. Even more interesting, given the prevailing concern about the use of infant formula among the poor and uneducated, breast-feeding from birth was found to be nearly universal among the rural and urban poor groups surveyed. And it is *only* in these groups that breast-feeding is continued to 9 months and frequently to 18 months by at least 50 percent of the mothers.

Some mothers, it is true, do not breast-feed at all, especially among the groups classified as economically advantaged or urban middle-class. The table on p. 43, reproduced from the WHO report, shows the reasons given by mothers who never initiated breast-feeding, based on an open-ended survey question. Notice that information provided by infant formula companies is never cited as a factor.

If the companies have been trying to convince Third World mothers that formula is better than breast milk, they have certainly been doing a very poor job: according to the WHO study, the vast majority of surveyed mothers (except in Hungary) felt that breast-feeding is intrinsically better for their babies than bottle-feeding. As the table indicates, the most common reason given for not breast-feeding is that the mother does not produce enough milk to feed her child. In that context, then, infant formula may play an important role in the health and nutrition of some Third World children.

A second role for infant formula is as a food to supplement breast milk. While the report's introduction leaves little doubt that early supplementation of breast milk is an unnecessary and harmful practice, the study could find no "consistent differences in weight-for-age between breast-fed and non-breast-fed babies; similarly, within the breast-fed group, there was no difference between those receiving or not receiving supplements."

On the other hand, among rural and urban poor groups in which supplements were not provided until late in the infant's development, there was evidence of slower-than-normal growth. "While it is not possible to show a direct association between late supplementation and poor growth on the basis of existing data," states the report, "such an association is highly likely."

Although the survey found all kinds of supplements in use, milk or milk-based products are the most common during the first three to six months. Is it advertising that has convinced Third World mothers to supplement early—with formula? Once again, the WHO study fails to support what is "common knowledge" outside the Third World. When mothers were asked what influences had contributed to their decision to give supplementary food, "media" was an answer in only a tiny fraction of the cases—4 percent among economically advantaged in the Philippines being the largest response. Most of the time, the women reported that they made the decision on their own or with medical advice.

Given the nature of the data presented in the WHO report, one is hard-pressed to see why the organization that undertook the study and was privy to its results persisted in its campaign against the use of infant formula in the Third World. The answer lies partly in what the report, conveniently, leaves unsaid.

Do some mothers say that they are unable to produce enough breast milk to feed their babies? The report makes much of biological reasons to doubt this—but fails to call attention to the fact that it is only among economically advantaged and urban middle-income groups that a high percentage of mothers never breast-feed or discontinue it early. And these people are not what people have in mind when they worry about poor Third World mothers understanding and affording the proper use of infant formulas.

Do the facts indicate that supplementation of breast milk may facilitate better growth, especially among the poorest groups? The study group reports that fact, without acknowledging the role that infant formula can play in that supplementation. As Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams noted in a recent address, in most developing countries if mothers do not use infant formula "their only real choice is to go to sugar water or cassava root or something even less nutritious." A frequent objection is that formula is often mixed with impure water. But as Abrams also pointed out, many of the breast-milk substitutes in use in the Third World consist of local water mixed with corn, sugar, flour, or rice. If the water is impure, they are just as likely as infant formula to be dangerous to the child's health.

Do mothers fail to report that how they feed their infants was influenced by advertising? Here, the study moves beyond sins of ommission and simply asserts a connection in its conclusion.

Although the report starts off with a description of the extent of advertising and promotion in each of the countries studied, nowhere among its 75 tables and charts is there an attempt to set this information side-by-side the figures on feeding patterns to see whether intensive advertising correlates with less breast-feeding. "The study did not set out to measure in any depth the possible connection between breast-feeding prevalence and the advertising of infant formulas or the distribution of free samples to mothers," the report demurs in its conclusion. Yet, it continues, "it is interesting to note that where the level of such advertising or distribution was high, the prevalence of breast-feeding was low."

Now this alleged correlation is a pure fiction, as anyone who bothers to draw up the missing chart (see p. 44) will discover. In the Philippines, there is intensive advertising and frequent gifts of milk samples to mothers who deliver in the hospital. And sure enough, only 68 percent of economically advantaged mothers ever breast-feed. Yet Nigeria has similar advertising and milk-sample practices, and *100 percent* of such mothers breast-feed. With little advertising, only 32 percent of rural Chilean mothers are still breast-feeding at 18 months; with intensive mass advertising *82 percent* of Nigerian rural mothers are. Hungary, which has *no* advertising, and Sweden, where advertising is limited by law to professional journals, have the lowest figures of all for breast-feeding at one month and beyond. Such statistics do not a correlation make.

SCIENTIFICALLY sound evidence for their cause does not seem to be of much concern to the infant formula opponents. In the United States, the case against infant formula has been made to a large extent by non-nutritionists whose role in the debate has been to visit Third World countries and to report back that they saw (*a*) a lot of poverty, (*b*) a lot of sick babies, and (*c*) a lot of infant formula.

Why Some Women Don't Breast-Feed

Table A1. Reasons given for not breast-feeding (percentage distribution of answers)*

Country	Group#	Number responding	Child		Mother						Medical advice	Other
			in hospital, ill	does not suck, "dislikes"	no milk, insufficient milk	breast and nipple problems	ill	emotional problems, beliefs	work, "too busy"	does not want to		
			%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Chile	A	25	16	12	28	16	12	0	0	4	4	8
	C	27	15	11	52	7	15	0	0	0	0	0
	R	21	43	14	29	10	5	0	0	0	0	0
Guatemala	A	69	6	6	43	9	4	13	0	13	0	7
	C	59	20	10	37	3	2	2	0	3	0	22
India	A	37	8	0	59	0	16	0	0	16	0	2
	B	37	3	3	51	0	38	0	0	0	0	5
Philippines	A	190	8	4	37	13	6	3	15	6	0	7
	C	131	5	8	50	12	6	8	8	2	0	2
	R	51	0	12	39	18	8	12	4	8	0	0
Hungary	all	251	0	0	45	0	14	0	0	0	0	41
Sweden	all	47	17	6	23	23	11	13	0	6	0	0

* "Child in hospital or ill" includes some infants hospitalized because of prematurity. No explanation is available for the high proportion of "other" reasons in the returns from Hungary.
# A = economically advantaged. B = urban middle income. C = urban poor R = rural

Only a small minority of mothers in the WHO survey never breast-fed at all. This table reproduced from the WHO study gives their reasons.

The one "fact" that the antiformula lobby cites again and again—that "up to one million infant deaths per year" are attributable to infant formula—is a phony statistic. The *New York Times* recently reported that James Grant, executive director of UNICEF, had estimated that the promotion of breast-feeding could "save one million lives per year." Grant, however, declined to provide a source for that figure, said the *Times*'s reporter, leading the paper to comment that it "is not supported by ironclad evidence." Even Grant himself, in a 1981 report to UNICEF's executive board, noted that "infant mortality depends on many factors, and the available estimates cannot be directly related to breast-feeding and weaning."

Some infant formula opponents continue to put stock in the figure, pointing to a 1979 statement that "as many as 10 million serious cases of malnutrition or diarrhea each year may result from improper use of bottles or infant formula." These opponents then make the case that, since 10 percent of infants with these maladies typically die, the "one million deaths per year" figure is valid. What they fail to point out, however, is that the source for the "10 million serious cases" is a Dr. Derrick Jelliffe, who, according to *Newsweek*, "acknowledged that the number is a symbolic figure." No wonder, then, that Assistant Secretary Abrams has called the "one million lives per year" statistic "a straight-out guess, presented to us by polemicists as undeniable truth."

IF THE CASE against infant formula is so weak, how have its opponents been so successful at turning public opinion against the formula companies? To a large extent, they have been fortunate in that the quality of their opposition has ranged from inept to ineffective.

The Nestlé Corporation, which dominates the infant formula market in many Third World countries, actually supported the World Health Organization's marketing code. With the code in place, of course, Nestlé's potential competitors will be prevented from using Third World advertising in an effort to overtake its position in that market.

Yet Nestlé has not been alone among infant formula companies in going along with marketing restrictions. In a letter to the editor of the *New York Times* shortly after the vote on the international marketing code was taken, the chairman of another large infant formula manufacturer noted proudly that American infant formula manufacturers are not opposed to a code. Perhaps these companies hope thus to allay criticism of their product, but widespread industry support for "a" code can be interpreted as confession by the industry that the antiformula groups are right: only international-level legal action stands between formula companies and the lives of Third World children.

The Reagan administration's defense of its negative vote on the code (see box, p. 45) has consisted largely of apologetic endorsements of mother's milk and vague references to antitrust principles. If the antiformula side has been unable to back up its "one million infant deaths per year" figure, the State Department has been equally silent about how a group of companies acting independently in compliance with international law could possibly be a violation of antitrust policy.

Official explanations of America's vote invariably begin with assurances that the US government is deeply committed to encouraging breast-feeding worldwide, leaving the general impression that the basic objectives of the marketing code are correct—infant formula *is* necessarily a net detriment to the Third World—and that the battle is only a power struggle over which government, national or international, is better suited to keeping too many mothers of the world from choosing to use infant formula.

Faced with skillfully generated public opinion on the issue and a severe shortage of ammunition to oppose the marketing code, American politicians turned against the administration. With lopsided majorities, congressmen in both houses eagerly embraced the opportunity to endorse motherhood over corporate profits.

Some of the more honest and candid of the legislators openly admitted that, where politics is concerned, perceptions are more important than reality. "Nothing could be more unfortunate than for our country to have come out against motherhood in Third World countries," said Rep. Jim Leach

(R-Iowa), "and for what many perceive—rightly or wrongly—to be nothing more than child killing." Added Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.), "Ever since I got here I have been waiting for a motherhood issue. This is it."

For code supporters in Congress, the debate seemed to revolve around two central issues. First, nearly every congressman who rose to speak in defense of the code cited the spurious "one million deaths per year" figure as though it were a certifiable statistic; the unsubstantiated figure even found its way into the House resolution supporting the marketing code.

Second, and perhaps more important, someone in the pro-code movement prepared a list of 31 editorial comments from newspapers scattered throughout the country, blasting the US government for its lone vote against the code. This barometer of public opinion had its effect on the professional opinion-watchers who make up the US Congress: the list was published twice, at the request of two different congressmen, in the issue of the *Congressional Record* that carried the House debate on the code, while on the Senate side one legislator's argument in support of the code consisted in part of reading and rereading from the list. Ultimately, the House declared its "dismay" and the Senate its "concern" over US opposition to the infant formula code, and with those words, the victory for the antiformula mentality was complete.

WHAT MOTIVATES the antiformula forces? If the concern is for Third World families, why haven't their efforts been directed toward convincing appropriate organizations of the need for an educational campaign to make both health care professionals and mothers more aware of the positive case for breast milk and of the proper use of formula when it is used? Why, instead, have they devoted themselves to reducing the choices open to mothers? Why have they not sounded the alarm about the health hazard of using natural supplemental foods that are mixed with

Advertising and Breast-Feeding: WHO's Unadvertised Data

COUNTRY/PROMOTION	Group*	Free Sample Distribution**	Percentage of Mothers Breast-Feeding At Birth	At 9 Months	At 18 Months
ETHIOPIA: *Advertising, not intensive*	**A**	8%	91%	29%	8%
	C	7	97	81	70
	R	n/a	100	100	97
NIGERIA: *URBAN: intensive mass advertising; RURAL: intensive sales promotion*	**A**	24	100	20	0
	B	16	100	68	0
	C	10	100	100	79
	R	5	100	100	82
ZAIRE: *No intensive advertising*	**A**		100	83	25
	C		100	96	56
	R		100	100	80
CHILE: *Some advertising, not intensive*	**A**	6	93	8	0
	C		92	46	0
	R		95	52	32
GUATEMALA: *URBAN: intensive advertising and promotion to health facilities; RURAL: radio advertising, limited*	**A**	5	77	5	0
	C	19	91	62	29
	R	5	98	90	61
INDIA: *URBAN: intensive mass advertising; RURAL: advertising, not intensive*	**A**		96	47	29
	B		96	66	44
	C		99	95	80
	R		100	100	95
PHILIPPINES: *Intensive advertising and promotion to health facilities*	**A**	27	68	5	0
	C	9	85	38	34
	R	41	94	75	42
HUNGARY	**all**		97	10	0
SWEDEN: *Advertising limited by law to professional journals*	**all**		93	10	0

* **A** = economically advantaged, **B** = urban middle-income, **C** = urban poor, **R** = rural.

** Percentage of mothers *delivered in the hospital* who received free samples of formula; where no number is given, the practice was rarely reported (except in Hungary, where the question was not asked).

SOURCE: *Contemporary Patterns of Breast-Feeding*, World Health Organization, 1981, pp. 19-29, 71, 32, 37.

often impure water, instead of singling out manufactured formula as a danger?

Why is there no concern about the costs to Third World governments—that is, to their citizens—of implementing the WHO code? And why is there no acknowledgment of the fact that the code may well foster interference with those mothers who are unable or simply do not wish to breast-feed and could use infant formula to enable their children to survive?

In fact, concern for Third World families is not all that's behind the antiformula crusade. Observe the public statements of prominent formula opponents, and the reason for their animus becomes clear:

- Polly Mann, national organizer, Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFACT): "The root of the problem [is] the exploitation of the people in the Third World countries by those who are looking for profits and profits alone."
- Infant Formula Action Coalition: "Third World babies are starving because of the heartless, money-hungry activities of powerful multinational corporations."
- Leah Margulies, director, Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility: "Let us be as frank as possible. Industry is in business to make a profit." (Margulies has also coined a new phrase to describe cases where infant formula is allegedly responsible for starvation: *commerciogenic malnutrition.*)
- Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.): "Is it not interesting, when the figures get up into the tens of millions, the hundreds of millions, and eventually the billions of dollars, that any question of morality goes right out the window in those plush corporate headquarters?"
- Rep. Silvio Conte (R-Mass.): "With this vote, nations can say that the United States panders to narrow commercial interests."

If you are having trouble believing that the antiformula mentality is concerned more with corporate profits than with infant lives, consider this: there is little in the World Health Organization's marketing code that will affect any Communist country. In those countries, private companies do not engage in advertising and promotional practices, and the government already has control of the marketing and distribution of all products, including infant formula. So it is safe to assume that the infant formula controversy is an issue primarily where profits are involved and that the Communists have been successful in encouraging breast-feeding and preserving infant health, right?

Well, not really. In fact, infant formula use is on the increase in Communist countries, and the rate of infant mortality in the Soviet Union is triple that of the United States (and rising), despite the fact that the capitalistic evils that are blamed for "commerciogenic malnutri-

(Continued on p. 64.)

DILUTING THE MESSAGE

The US government's decision to cast the lone vote opposing the WHO infant formula marketing code started out firmly rooted in principle. The original draft of the US statement based the decision on freedom of choice, as indicated by excerpts from a May 13 draft obtained by REASON:

. . . But the United States cannot support the proposed Code because it would be, if enacted into national legislation, an unwarranted invasion of the freedom of men and women to engage in peaceful exchange of goods and services and a denial of the rights of consumers to make informed choices about products which appear to them to best meet their needs.

Freedom is important to Americans. Our political, economic, legal, and social systems are based on the idea of maximizing individual freedom. We believe it is not an accident that our country has achieved its present degree of prosperity, for prosperity is the result of the labor, the investment, and the confidence of free men and women in a society founded upon the ideal of freedom.

Freedom, in the economic sphere, must admittedly be regulated to some extent. Laws against fraud and misrepresentation must be enforced, so that consumers can make informed choices about the products they buy. Products potentially dangerous to human health can be restricted or banned. But if a product can be lawfully sold in the marketplace, then it is essential that those who offer the product have the right to announce its availability to customers, and to describe its merits without misrepresentation. It is essential that the sellers have the freedom to promote their product through sales incentives. And it is essential that consumers have the opportunity to exercise free and informed choice in the selection of products and services.

The proposed Code does not claim that breastmilk substitutes are harmful to infant health. They are not, unless consumers make them harmful by ignoring the instructions and adding polluted water to the powder. But the Code would deny to sellers of this nonharmful product the freedom to advertise its merits, and to make voluntary contractual arrangements for its marketing. The United States believes that these proscriptions strike at the heart of an economic system built upon free choice and voluntary exchange in the marketplace. Believing as we do that such a system offers the best hope for the increased prosperity and well-being of mankind, and recognizing the privation and grief endured by so many millions of people in countries which prohibit free choice and voluntary exchange, we are compelled to vote against the recommendation of this Code for adoption by member governments.

This forthright, informative statement was watered down by the State Department to the point of complete inefficacy. The comparable portion of the actual "US Statement on WHO Infant Formula Code" read as follows:

On the other hand, the apparently [sic] flexibility provided to governments by paragraph 11.1 in our view does not overcome its overall effect of prescribing a rigid set of numbers applicable to companies, health workers, and health care systems in all parts of the world. The Code also contains provisions that cause serious legal and constitutional problems for the US.

Moreover, we have serious concerns about WHO's involvement in commercial codes and this is a central basis for our inability to support this code.

Thus, the United States ended up not only gaining the opprobrium of the other delegations and the public; it missed a golden opportunity to remind diplomats and the press of the merits of liberty.

—R. P.

Volunteer Forces

(Continued from p. 38.)

to cover such functions as running food services and performing maintenance of military facilities. Even so, only 14 percent of the civilian defense force of just under one million is made up of contract employees.

In lateral hiring, civilians with needed job skills are recruited by the military straight from the job market and are given a rank and pay level appropriate to their skills. Such a system was used extensively in World War II by all of the services to supply officers and enlisted men in possession of specialized skills. While lateral hiring is still used to some extent (mainly in medical areas), much more use could be made of this valuable and largely neglected recruiting device. Would it cost? Of course. But it is difficult to imagine that it would cost any more than the sums that must be expended to train people for such jobs.

CAREER CONSIDERATIONS

One simple and painless way to increase recruitments while at the same time easing the exodus of first-termers would be to update the antiquated grooming regulations still in force throughout the services. Studies have found that most soldiers would welcome with open arms a relaxation of anachronistic 1950s hair styles and that many would-be recruits hesitate to sign up out of fear of being cloned into Jack Webb look-alikes.

Those in authority take the position that short hair and a shaven chin are hygienic and lead to greater discipline and safety—tenuous arguments at best, especially since the Navy several years ago began to permit the wearing of beards, with no subsequent loss of discipline or health. Bringing grooming regulations a bit more in line with current cultural norms would cost nothing and would almost certainly make military life more attractive to potential recruits, as well as more tolerable to those already in.

Studies done by the Gates Commission showed that tempering the set term of enlistment would very likely enhance the appeal of a military career to many who otherwise turn away. As it now is set up, servicemen are allowed to quit only at certain preset times. For the most part Americans enjoy their personal freedom and independence, and many are reluctant to enter into an employment contract binding them to a job for four or more years. Life in the armed forces can sometimes prove trying, and those who have taken the pledge are sometimes tempted to opt out.

Military leaders tend to frown on this, particularly in the heat of battle, and iron-clad terms of enlistment have been the traditional method of dealing with this. While allowing servicemen the freedom to quit at will might appear unworkable, modifying procedures in this direction was proposed as a realistic means of boosting enlistments by the Gates Commission, which said, "The increased freedom of choice should make military service more attractive and enhance the dignity of an enlisted career."

Even without any of these innovations, the current volunteer system of recruitment would have no problem obtaining personnel if society were willing to pay the price up front. That so many people find the thought of using forced labor less repugnant than paying a decent wage to those serving in the armed forces is a sorry comment on contemporary American values. The Gates Commission recommended that military pay be kept on a close par with pay for similar civilian jobs, yet this simply has not been done. Notes Lawrence J. Korb, assistant Defense secretary for manpower, "We set up the concept of a volunteer force and then did everything to undermine it."

At the beginning of 1981, the base pay for a first-time enlistee was $501 per month. An ambitious young person could earn more working at the local Jack in the Box. The pay for a military pilot (captain with eight years in) is $27,800; a comparable civilian pilot would turn up his nose at less than $45,000. A military policeman makes around $14,000 per year; a civilian, $20,000. A military stationary engineer earns about $16,000; civilian, $22,500 for the same job. Although servicemen may enjoy other benefits—subsidized housing, medical and dental care, exchange and commissary privileges—they are also considered to be on duty 24 hours a day, may be shipped against their wishes to distant places, and are subjected to rules and regulations that do not apply to civilians.

At the present time about 86 percent of Air Force enlisted personnel and over half of Air Force officers need a second income just to squeak by. It is not uncommon for civilians at military bases to earn double what their uniformed coworkers make for the same jobs. The real puzzle is not why so few people seek to enter the armed forces but that anyone does so at all.

The cost of correcting the manpower shortage through higher pay and benefits would not be cheap. The Reagan administration estimates that, with higher recruiting goals, it will add about $20 billion to the defense manpower budget by 1985. A better solution—one that would not only cost less but would actually save money—has been suggested by Moskos and Janowitz: to cut back severely or abolish the scores of government education subsidies that siphon off would-be recruits from the services—programs such as Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (Pell Grants), Supplemental Education Opportunity Grants, the National Direct Student Loan (NDSL) program, the Guaranteed Student Loan Program, and many others.

These programs cost the taxpayers about $6 billion in 1981. In contrast, the total price of the Veteran's Educational Assistance Program, in which GIs contribute matching funds for their schooling, totaled $87 million in 1980. For young people seeking an education, anything offered by the services can be gotten from other government programs, without the added hassle of taking orders and getting obnoxious haircuts.

The point is that there are many, many things we can do to improve the voluntary defense of our country. It is simply not the case that we face a dilemma between depriving some people of their liberty and leaving our free society undefended. Nor is it a love of conscription that motivates most draft supporters. Rather, such support often stems from the difficulty of looking beyond past solutions in the search for modern answers to military manning problems. If we are willing to take our freedom seriously, however, we can see that defense of our country does not require a draft. That way may be logistically easier. It may be fiscally less painful. But it is not necessary. And what a happy circumstance that is for the sons and daughters of the American Revolution. ◻

Michael Hinz served a hitch in the Air Force before settling down in Spokane to pursue a writing career currently supported via work in a steam plant.

1981

Reason's Special Book Section

The Best Book On General Economics In Many a Year

KNOWLEDGE AND DECISIONS

By Thomas Sowell

New York: Basic Books. 1980. 422 pp. $18.50.

REVIEWED BY F. A. HAYEK

More than a year ago, a quick glance through this book had so fascinated me that I took it with me on my summer vacation with the intention of carefully studying it and writing a lengthy review. Misfortune would have it that some infection put me out of action for much longer than I felt I could spare from a piece of work of my own on which I was then and still am engaged. I thought it therefore necessary to put this book aside until I had completed my own.

Now that I have at last studied Professor Sowell's book, I know that that decision was wrong. I would have made more rapid progress with my own if I had postponed returning to it until I had fully digested his. I can now no better express my mature judgment than by the title I have given to this review article.

I trust the reader of this review will not be misled to believe that my enthusiasm is due to the author's frank statement of how his interest had initially been guided to the problems to which his book is devoted: by work I published 35 (and, partly, nearly 45) years ago. I gladly acknowledge this, and it in no way diminishes my admiration for his original achievement.

I have myself continued to work on the same problems and am glad to find in his book conclusions that I endeavor to draw in my current work. This is what one hopes to find in the writing of an acute younger mind who continues what one has commenced. The rare surprise is that in a wholly original manner he has not only broadened the application of the ideas and effectively carried the approach into new fields that I never considered, but he also succeeds in translating abstract and theoretical argument into a highly concrete and realistic discussion of the central problems of contemporary economic policy.

Professor Sowell is one of the rare minds who, after they have ascended from the infinite variety of concrete facts to a general view accounting for the structure of the complex world, find their way back to the wealth of particulars from which they started and in which ordinary people, other than economic theorists, are alone interested. Although his exposition of economic theory is impeccable and contains many original contributions, the strength of the book, its impressiveness and liveliness, is due to his always having before his eyes the concrete phenomena. Simple and vivid illustrations make us aware of the practical implications of his theoretical insights.

Another great merit of the book is that the author has really and wholly freed himself of that animistic prejudice that still lurks in the thinking of many supposed social scientists who can see a social structure only as the creation of some intellect. Few writers in our field have so radically purged themselves of the search for design in grown structures; few have made central to their analysis the process whereby scattered information that nobody possesses as a whole is transmitted and utilized.

It is the profound philosophical insight that unobtrusively stands behind the very realistic discussion of problems familiar to all of us that gives the book its unique character. In recent years, a number of students have done a considerable amount of work on that process of communication of knowledge effected by the market. But most of this work is available only in studies done by and for specialists. Professor Sowell's is probably the first comprehensive attempt to apply it to all the major issues of economic organization, which is essential for understanding current affairs.

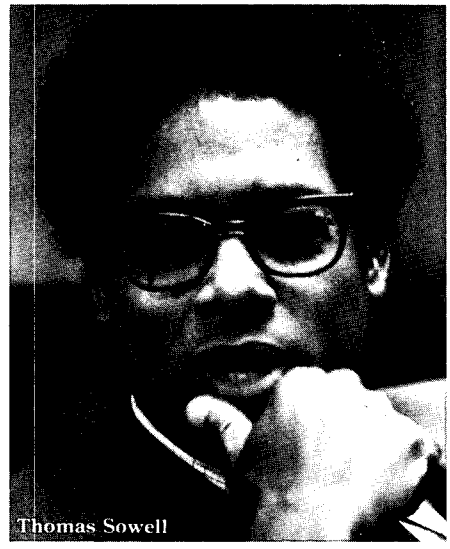
It does not unduly simplify but succeeds in being intelligible to the attentive reader. Nobody can make these things

quite easy, but the clarity and precision of Professor Sowell's exposition is exemplary. I so much approve and admire the argument of the book that I find myself concerned more with whether it explains those important insights as effectively as possible than with its originality and correctness, although it is rich in both of these, also. Professor Sowell is unusually careful and precise with his language. I may sometimes hesitate about the terminology that he chooses but that presumably is more familiar to a younger generation (*incremental, trade-off, authentication, fungibility, referral, incumbent, sequential*); yet these may well be better terms than those we had to use in the past. And in various other instances, where I at first wish that something were put more concisely, I usually find that I do not really know how that could be done.

I will not claim that it is an easy book to read for the laymen. Unfortunately, the self-generating order of economic activities is not easy to explain, and the task of any honest and competent book must be to show that what off-hand may seem the most plausible explanation—that somebody has arranged things thus in his own interests—is outright wrong. What this book offers is not much more than the minimum of understanding required to talk sense on the most acute issues of public policy, but very much more than is offered by most of the books that in recent times have been great popular successes in this field.

It is difficult not to reflect on how much good it would do to the world at large if a book of this quality could achieve the kind of popular success that a large number of very bad and influential books have achieved. It is an intoxicating dream to imagine how much more sense current politics could make if as many opinion makers were to study and absorb its teaching as have been guided by the bestsellers of the John Kenneth Galbraiths or Robert L. Heilbroners, Gunnar Myrdals or Jan Tinbergens, not to speak of the surviving Marxists and Keynesians.

What I mean by the heading I have given to this review is that if I should now be asked by persons capable of exact thinking but ignorant of technical economics (and there must be hundreds of thousands of them who have great influence on policy) what single modern work would give them the best introduction to the present knowledge needed to judge the wisdom or folly of current policies, I would without hesitation refer them to Professor Sowell's book. Though to derive full gain from it, it needs to be studied carefully and consecutively, it contains so many gems that I could mention any number of passages


Thomas Sowell

in the book that I wish were read and digested by every person who utters an opinion on public policy. To anybody who would wish first to sample the book, I would recommend, for example, pages 45-46, 67-72, 232-37, 250-52, 318-19, 328-31, and 353-55. Even if a prospective reader at first feels that he has not time enough to work through close to 400 pages, from reading these passages I believe he will wish to master the rest. And I trust that precisely those with great public responsibility, such, especially, as judges of the Supreme Court, will recognize it a duty to digest it.

I have perhaps done an injustice to the work by calling it in the heading a book on economics. It is of course much more, and the title the author has chosen for it is very appropriate, though I doubt whether most potential readers will understand its implications. It deals with those parts of economics that every social philosopher ought to understand but, I am afraid, even many economic specialists do not. It confirms to a high degree what I have said many years ago, offending many of my professional colleagues: that an economist who is only an economist cannot even be a good economist.

While an understanding of the market order is a necessary condition for the understanding of our civilization, one has to possess much knowledge of other aspects of civilization in order to comprehend what the market does. In this sense, the book might with justice be described as an important philosophical work, and I would regret nothing more than if my remarks about it should deter any of those who have a dislike of technical economics.

It is also a very courageous book. A generation ago it would have offended current prejudices of the dominant intelligentsia so much as to be buried by silence. There is, for example, his discussion of "affirmative action," which I am prevented from calling a masterpiece only by my awareness that I know little about the particular facts. I challenge all those who in the fashionable scandalous manner might endeavor to refute its intellectual argument, which they will dislike, by imputing to its author, a la Marxism and "sociology of knowledge," any selfish motives.

Of course, the many topics covered in this book deserve detailed discussion, but this must be reserved for the reviews in technical journals and cannot be attempted in a general report for the nonspecialist reader. I have not hesitated to express my enthusiasm frankly about the overall achievement of the author, but since I have been led to use praising language that I have never used before in such a connection, I ought perhaps to add that I scarcely know the author in person. An accidental meeting at a luncheon at a faculty club with a deceptively youngish-looking scholar about whose distinguished earlier work, to my shame, I knew nothing, is all I connected with his name before this volume came into my hands.

I now hope I have not done more harm than good by expressing my considered view about it so frankly. But I trust the time is past when it was possible, as happened 32 years ago at a meeting of the American Economic Association, for an unknown young author whom I congratulated on the achievement of a book of his I had just read to afterwards be teased by his friends for having been seen receiving the kiss of death. But at that time the author of *The Road to Serfdom* could not expect to receive mercy from young American intellectuals. May I now be forgiven for being delighted to

have lived to see the seed I had been planting at that time now sprouting luxuriously?

F. A. Hayek, who was awarded the Nobel prize in economics in 1974, is the author of numerous books ranging from The Road to Serfdom *(1944) to* Law, Legislation and Liberty *(3 vols., 1973, 1976, 1979).*

Missing Link in the Resource Equation

THE ULTIMATE RESOURCE

By Julian L. Simon

Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1981. 415 pp. $14.50.

REVIEWED BY J. PETER VAJK

The 1970s have been a difficult decade. In the United States, we suffered from the demoralizing aftermath of the Vietnam war and of urban riots, only to be hit by Watergate and the OPEC petroleum embargo of 1973-74. We waited in queues for hours for gasoline, which suddenly doubled in price. Soon thereafter, supermarkets rationed customers to two or three pounds of meat per visit, and fertilizer and soybean prices around the globe soared. At the end of the decade, Three Mile Island and the DC-10 crash at Chicago's O'Hare Airport shook popular confidence in high technology.

Throughout the decade, we were bombarded with a steady stream of doomsday books, such as *The Limits to Growth, The Population Bomb, Famine 1975, The End of Affluence,* and *Losing Ground: Environmental Stress and World Food Prospects,* while the media announced almost daily new discoveries about the carcinogenicity of some food substance we had been using for years. In 1980, a commission chartered by President Carter presented its *Global 2000 Report to the President,* reiterating most of the warnings of this gloomy literature.

Given this succession of bad news, most reasonable lay people, having little or no expertise, time, or resources to investigate these issues for themselves, would come to the conclusion that the future is rather bleak. We seem to be using up the Earth's resources at an ever faster and faster rate, inventing and scattering about more and more pollutants or toxic materials, multiplying faster than rabbits (especially in the less developed countries—LDCs), all the while proliferating more and more potent weapons of mass destruction. Amid all the rhetoric about scarcities of petroleum, food, agricultural land, strategic metals, sites for waste disposal, potable water, or money to carry out socially desirable programs at home and abroad, it seems the commodity we most lack is hope.

Julian L. Simon's new book, *The Ultimate Resource,* provides a refreshing and well-documented refutation of the gloom-and-doom school. Simon is a professor of economics at the University of Illinois, and the bulk of his book is based on economic evidence and arguments, with a minimum of technical jargon, so the book is readily accessible to the intelligent lay person. This is a book for people who are interested in shaping the future to read, to refer to repeatedly, and to give to friends who have been swayed by the abundance of bad news in the media.

Most of the book's conclusions are sharply at odds with currently accepted conventional wisdom, which is largely based on certain ideological positions totally unsupported by real-world data. Just a few of these conclusions will serve to indicate the thrust of the good news:

- "Food. *Contrary to popular impression, the per capita food situation has been improving for the three decades since World War II, the only decades for which we have acceptable data. We also know that famine has progressively diminished for at least the past century."*
- "Land. *Agricultural land is not a fixed resource. . . . Rather, the amount of agricultural land has been, and still is, increasing substantially, and it is likely to continue to increase where needed. Paradoxically, in the countries that are best supplied with food, such as the U.S., the quantity of land under cultivation has been decreasing because it is more economical to raise larger yields on less land than to increase the total amount of farmland."*
- "Natural resources. *Hold your hat—our supplies of natural resources are not finite in any economic sense. . . . [If] the past is any guide, natural resources will progressively become less scarce, and less costly, and will constitute a smaller proportion of our expenses in future years. And population growth is likely to have a long-run* beneficial *impact on the natural resource situation."*
- "Energy. *Grab your hat again—the long-run future of our energy supply is at least as bright as that of other natural resources, though political maneuvering can temporarily boost prices from time to time. Finiteness is no problem here either. And the long-run impact of additional people is likely to speed the development of a cheap energy supply that is almost inexhaustible."*
- "Pollution. . . . *population growth is not the villain in the creation and reduction of pollution. . . . the key trend is that life expectancy, which is the best overall index of the pollution level, has improved markedly as the world's population has grown."*

This is good news indeed, and there is more.

But what is the justification for claims so outrageously at odds with the prevailing common wisdom? History provides some clues. Our present standard of living (in terms of life expectancy, material affluence, and political freedom) is the direct result of the Industrial Revolution, *which would not have been possible but for the "population explosion" in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries.* More people, in the long run, provide the increased demand that leads to the invention of new technologies that not only meet the demand but satisfy it at lower cost than was previously possible. More people, moreover, provide the additional labor force to permit more efficient division of labor, providing new economies of scale. Had population growth 200 years ago been slower, we would all be poorer today.

The conventional wisdom, on the other hand, is based on a *short-term* view of the problem. An additional child (especially in the more-developed countries—MDCs—such as the United States) places large new demands on the socioeconomic system until the child joins the productive labor force 20-odd years later. Other things being equal, the same "pie" of resources must be divided more ways, and everyone's standard of living decreases.

But each additional child (again, es-

pecially in the MDCs) contributes in his or her lifetime *more* than he or she consumed in growing up. In contrast to such neo-Malthusian computer models as those used in *The Limits to Growth*, computer models that include the economic contributions of additional children once they join the labor force show that an LDC with moderate population growth rates will prosper better than the same country with very low (or, worse yet, with negative) population growth rates. It is only necessary to look at a time span long enough (say, 50 years or more) for the additional children to grow up and make their positive contributions.

An additional effect of more children, however, is that other things are *not* equal. When a family grows larger, the parents have more incentive to become *more* productive, and all of society benefits. Most of the *costs* of the additional child are borne by the family, while most of the economic *benefits* accrue to society as a whole. The family, of course, receives intangible benefits in terms of the experience of another new and unique human being. The issue of population growth versus standard of living is in large part so very thorny because the costs of additional children are incurred long before the benefits.

Historical data consistently show, Simon argues persuasively, that economic forces have always (barring excessive governmental interference) kept the wolf farther and farther away from the door. In anticipation of impending scarcities, people have always developed new ideas capable of reaping profits from the inevitable shifts in the economy, providing the services and products to which society has become accustomed. Not even the most strident opponents of growth have presented systematic evidence (other than isolated anecdotes) that these social and economic forces of progress have ceased or been superseded by economic or technical factors that would prevent further progress.

The conclusion is that we can expect continued economic growth far into the future. This puts the current emphasis on conserving resources into an unusual light: "Because we can expect future generations to be richer than we are, no matter what we do about resources, asking us to refrain from using resources now so that future generations can have them later is like asking the poor to make gifts to the rich."

The bottom line in the debate between the neo-Malthusian school and more optimistic schools of thought is a matter of personal values. Simon describes his personal shift in views on these issues in his introduction:

Ironically, when I began to work on population studies, I assumed that the accepted view was sound. I aimed to help the world contain its "exploding" population. . . . One spring day about 1969 I visited the [State Department's Agency for International Development] to discuss a project to lower fertility in less-developed countries. I arrived early for my appointment, so I strolled outside in the warm sunshine. Below the building's plaza I noticed a sign that said "Iwo Jima Highway." I remembered reading about a eulogy delivered by a Jewish chaplain over the dead on the battlefield at Iwo Jima, saying something like, "How many who would have been a Mozart or a Michelangelo or an Einstein have we buried here?" And then I thought, Have I gone crazy? What business do I have trying to help arrange it that fewer human beings will be born, each of whom might be a Mozart or a Michelangelo or an Einstein—or simply a joy to his or her family and community, and a person who will enjoy life?

The longer I read the literature about population, the more baffled and distressed I become that one idea is omitted: Enabling a potential human being to come into life and to enjoy life is a good thing, just as enabling a living person's life not to be ended is a good thing. Of course, a death is not the same as an averted life, in part because others feel differently about the two. Yet I find no logic implicit in the thinking of those who are horrified at the starvation of a comparatively few people in a faraway country. . . but who are positively gleeful with the thought that 1 million or 10 million times that many lives will never be lived that might be lived.

The book concludes on a realistic and positive note: "Is a rosy future guaranteed? Of course not. There will always be temporary shortages and resource problems where there are strife, political blunderings, and natural calamities—that is, wherever there are people. . . .The main fuel to speed our progress is our stock of knowledge, and the brake is our lack of imagination. The ultimate resource is people—skilled, spirited, and hopeful people who will exert their wills and imaginations for their own benefit, and so, inevitably, for the benefit of us all."

J. Peter Vajk, the author of Doomsday Has Been Cancelled, *is a physicist and futurist specializing in the prospects of space industrialization for improving the human condition.*

Hacking Away At Procrustes

THE POLITICS OF PROCRUSTES

By Antony Flew

Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books. 1981. 216 pp. $16.95.

REVIEWED BY LOREN LOMASKY

The final stretch of the cosmic journey described in Dante's *Divine Comedy* opens with a question: Are the souls lodged in the lowest sphere of paradise vexed by any residual desire to ascend to a higher elevation? The poet is reassured that each of the blessed is entirely content with his appointed station. Dante reflects:

Then it was clear to me that everywhere in Heaven is Paradise, though the perfect Grace does not rain down alike on all souls there.

Prominent ideologues of the New Egalitarianism would demur. Such rank inequality of outcome would lead them to suspect that a wrong turn had led them into a perfect hell. Calls for an Affirmative Action program would resound to the very Throne of Heaven, and a team

of social scientists would be unleashed to produce multivolume studies detailing St. Peter's reactionary elitism.

Reflections on things religious is not out of place here. Old taboos have withered during this century, but in their place has sprouted an unquestioning veneration of equality. Its priesthood occupies prominent positions within government, journalism, the academy, and the think tank; on both sides of the Atlantic, its devotees are legion. But though their incantations have powerfully troubled the air, the doctrine is as obscurantist as any being preached by Iran's mullahs or your local Moral Majoritarian. For, as Professor Flew brilliantly documents in this book, *equality* is a term on which have been dumped enough noxious confusions, equivocations, and bromides to despoil a landfill.

Flew notes that equality is not one thing but several. In the factual realm it signifies parity with respect to some natural attribute—height, strength, intelligence, productivity. Within this realm, human beings are manifestly unequal (though some would go far to deny even this truism). Equality, though, can signify not only what *is* but what *ought to be*. It then serves as an ideal of the good society, that deserving to be brought into existence and maintained.

Equality as ideal also is ambiguous. It can signify at least the following: (*a*) equality of basic rights; (*b*) equal opportunity to secure prized but scarce positions; (*c*) equality of outcome, expressed in terms of income, wealth, or some similar measure. While (*a*) is an individualist postulate, (*c*) is a prescription for totalitarianism. The blatant inconsistency has not, however, deterred commentators who should know better from running all three together and concluding that socialism flows from the Declaration of Independence like juice from a lemon.

Flew ably takes this position apart piece by piece, not only correcting garden-variety fallacies studding the levelers' arguments, but also revealing how much they rest on envy of genuine achievement—except, of course, achievement in ratcheting the screws of Procrustes a notch tighter. These humanitarians who sympathetically resonate to each whimper of suffering humanity allow themselves one curious exception: with ill-concealed glee they clamor for marginal tax rates "to make the rich howl in agony." No matter that the country *as a whole* is made worse off; evidently, malice is its own reward.

Indeed, the only exception to rigidly imposed equality they will countenance is the absolute political ascendancy of the controllers themselves in their Brave New World. But who could doubt that total power in *their hands* would bring about a far, far better world?

Flew can. With admirable dispatch, pronouncements from influential procrusteans are assembled, dissected, and

exhibited in all their confusion. One does not know whether to be amused or depressed by the rampant unconcern for precision in language or validity of inference so meticulously spotlighted.

Each reader will have his favorite specimen of muddle. Mine was soon-to-be Prime Minister James Callaghan's inspired response to one of Britain's periodic economic disruptions: "If this means hardship it has to be fairly shared, and Labour intends that the wealthy who are best able to take the burden should bear more than their fair share of sacrifices." Flew takes special delight in skewering such Mandarins of the Labour Party, but even the most insular American will recognize likenesses to home-grown bathos.

If there were nothing more to this work than the deflation of unsavory political types, it would be welcome. But, not content merely with small game, Flew confronts the philosophical underpinnings of levelling politics, especially "the book of Rawls" (an apt title for a work that has assumed semicanonical status within the philosophical community) and Bernard Williams's influential essay "The Idea of Equality."

This is, to my mind, the highlight of *The Politics of Procrustes*. Flew argues that the egalitarianism of Rawls and Williams rests on a bastardized construal of "social justice" in which the concept of *desert*—fundamental to any reasonable understanding of what the claims of justice involve—is whittled away to nothing. His careful parsing of their arguments will be instructive to professional philosophers and, even more importantly, provides a lucid entry point for nonphilosophers into a crucial debate in contemporary ethics. Throughout the book, but here most of all, analytical philosophy's virtues shine clear of its characteristic vices: precision without pedantry; attention to detail without triviality; serious thought without soporific dullness. It is a book that deserves a wide audience. Certainly individualists who oppose procrusteanism in all its far-too-common manifestations will want to attend to it.

At only one point am I in serious disagreement with Flew. He argues (rightly) that the equal opportunity to secure scarce goods or positions does not guarantee equality of outcome among groups of applicants; we cannot, therefore, tell from the goods or positions people end up with, whether they started with an equal opportunity. Rather, he claims, opportunity is equal when there is open competition for available slots. Thus, candidates of different ability may each enjoy equal *opportunity* to get the position though widely differing in their *probability* of doing so.

This is itself a procrustean wrenching of language. If Bjorn Borg and I were to meet on a tennis court, it seems wildly counterintuitive to say that I have an *equal* opportunity to win the match. What I do have, however, is a *fair* opportunity of winning. The two should not be amalgamated; were I to drug Borg before the match I would be equalizing opportunities to win while simultaneously debasing the fairness of the contest. Flew seems to be confusing equal opportunity to *compete* for a prize with equal opportunity to *win* it; however, fairness requires the former but not the latter. It is a mark of how deeply the obeisance to ideals of equality has penetrated that even so skeptical an interpreter of the received wisdom wishes to salvage a usable version of equal opportunity.

Less serious reservations attach to misnumbered footnotes and an inaccurate page reference in the table of contents. Perhaps they will be remedied in the subsequent printings this book richly merits.

Loren Lomasky is chairman of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Minnesota, Duluth.

Reason's Special Book Section

Intellectual Pollution

WHO'S POISONING AMERICA: CORPORATE POLLUTERS AND THEIR VICTIMS IN THE CHEMICAL AGE

Edited by Ralph Nader, Ronald Brownstein, and John Richard

San Francisco, Calif.: Sierra Club Books. 1981. 320 pp. $12.95.

REVIEWED BY ELIZABETH M. WHELAN

Mother always said, "Don't judge a book by its cover," but one look at the title and subtitle of *Who's Poisoning America,* and you can pretty well guess the contents. The title sums up the basic tenets of a distinct and extremely vocal group of environmentalists:

- America is being poisoned.
- Big business is responsible and cares not what it does.
- Little people (like you and me) are the victims.
- This is a relatively new phenomenon, a product of our "chemical age."
- New and complex chemicals are the poisons and must be eliminated.

In a sense, it seems futile to write yet another negative review of this type of book. The primary audience of *Who's Poisoning America* is ready-made of individuals who sincerely believe everything that the title implies and are likely to view any objections to the book as evidence of corporate conspiracy or, at the very least, poor judgment. Anyone really interested in reading this book has already given an affirmative answer to a preliminary question that for many remains debatable: Is America being poisoned?

Like the title, the book itself is loaded with the buzz words and buzz phrases of the movement. One is treated to a barrage of emotional environmentalist rhetoric on "chemical violence," "corporate criminals," "lethal sewers of industry," and a "swarm of carcinogens," not to mention the inevitable "epidemic of cancer." In this highly charged language, even plants are described as dying a "twisted, tortured death."

But setting aside for the moment the obvious, and to me distasteful, bias in *Who's Poisoning America,* the book does consider topics and incidents that are important and need to be addressed. In separate chapters, authors examine such issues as the safe use and disposal of toxic chemicals, occupational health, the problem of radioactive waste disposal, and victim compensation. These topics are considered through reviews of the Michigan PBB accident, PCBs in the Hudson River, the use of the herbicide 2,4,5-T, Love Canal, and the inadequate protection of Kepone workers in a Hopewell, Virginia, pesticide plant, to name a few.

Undeniably, there have been instances in which unequivocal harm has been done to workers or the environment. For a number of the situations discussed in *Who's Poisoning America,* however, there is no clear-cut evidence of adverse effects.

It is depressing that, in their relentless insistence on portraying the worst of all possible worlds, the authors of this book have felt compelled to inflate any suggestions of adverse effects, however remote, while simultaneously suppressing any suggestions that effects may have been minimal or nonexistent. Thus, in the eyes of the authors of this book, the unsubstantiated anecdotal accounts of individuals convinced they are experiencing toxic effects are no less credible than scientifically rigorous epidemiological or toxicological studies.

Even more worrisome is the apparent willingness of the authors to use half-facts, innuendo, and misstatement to support their views. The introductory chapter, written by Ronald Brownstein, is rife with examples of this tactic.

In the course of bolstering his contention that chemicals in the air and water are killing us all, Brownstein pooh-poohs the proven contributions of cigarette smoking and certain other lifestyle factors to the cancer rate, designating this scientific viewpoint as "defense maneuvers" of "business officials and lobbyists." Oddly, in the final chapter of the book, Ralph Nader emphasizes that "changes in lifestyle can reduce exposure to some carcinogens." His prime example? Cigarette smoking.

Brownstein's obfuscation extends still further. He cites the increasing cancer rates of the last century but never notes the influence of the changing age structure of our society on these rates. With increasing life expectancies, Americans are living longer, and cancer is primarily a disease of old age. Hence, it doesn't necessarily tell us much that the incidence of cancer per 1,000 members of the population is increasing.

According to Brownstein's figures, cancer death rates tripled from 1900 to 1930, *before* any of the alleged culprit chemicals were being produced, compared to only a little more than a doubling of cancer death rates in the 45 years from 1930 to 1975. Yet, according to Brownstein, "the introduction of new chemical products into the environment since World War II parallels the increased cancer rates since then." This statement is meaningless, but it is nevertheless pregnant with the suggestion of a causal association.

To this sort of intellectual dishonesty, add what appears to be a deliberate sin of omission. In June 1980 a group of distinguished scientists headed by Dr. Lewis Thomas was appointed by New York Governor Hugh L. Carey to review the scientific evidence regarding the health effects of exposure to hazardous wastes in the Love Canal area of Niagara Falls. These scientists, commonly called a "blue ribbon panel" by the media, submitted their report on Love Canal in October 1980. The panel's report is the most thorough and scientific consideration of the Love Canal situation to date, yet in the Love Canal chapter of *Who's Poisoning America* the *only* reference to this important and well-respected study is the following unreferenced sentence: "But then another report to the New York government in fall 1980 criticized the Picciano study."

The Picciano study, which supposedly showed chromosome damage in Love Canal residents, was not the only study "criticized" by the panel, but *Who's Poisoning America* contains no mention of the strong reservations expressed by Dr. Thomas and the other panel members regarding the adequacy of virtually all the research on Love Canal health effects that they reviewed. According to the panel: "There has been no demonstration of acute health effects linked to exposure to hazardous wastes at the

Love Canal site. The panel has also concluded that chronic effects of hazardous wastes exposure at Love Canal have neither been established or ruled out as yet, in a scientifically rigorous manner." No doubt this calm and rational statement, though not absolutely ruling out the possibility of adverse effects on health, was too optimistic for inclusion in *Who's Poisoning America.*

Ultimately, it is this sort of deception that causes this book to forfeit the right to the respect that should otherwise be accorded any honest though differing viewpoint. Differences in interpretation of data are as integral to science as manipulation and suppression of information are inimical to it.

The same single-mindedness of purpose that impels the authors to be less than honest in the presentation of their view is also apparent in their obsession with assigning blame to industry. As the title makes clear, culpability is the raison d'être of this book. *Who's Poisoning America* clearly displays an "us-them" mentality that allows for no ambiguity about responsibility for the incidents discussed; only Big Business can be faulted.

Actually, reading the book, it frequently appears that the situations portrayed occurred through a confluence of inappropriate action by industry, government, and individuals. The constant exoneration of responsible government agencies is amusingly transparent and eventually unflattering, as it suggests the sort of perpetual excuse granted only to the particularly inept.

In the end, *Who's Poisoning America* is little more than a cult book. It will no doubt reinforce the convictions of present believers and may convince a few individuals who are teetering on the edge of receptivity. But for an open-minded, perceptive reader, the misstatements and omissions of fact, and the straightjacket of anti-industrial bias, will eventually work against acceptance of the viewpoint expressed.

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Whither the Defense Dollar?

NATIONAL DEFENSE
By James Fallows
New York: Random House. 1981. 204 pp. $12.95.

REVIEWED BY JOSEPH P. MARTINO

For the past few years there have been increasingly insistent calls for expanding the US defense budget. Typically, those arguing for more defense spending point to estimates of Soviet defense spending, apparently much greater than that of the US government. President Reagan is determined to increase defense spending significantly, and he appears to have a great deal of public support for this move.

It is impossible, however, simply to buy "more defense," since defense is not a homogeneous product. The question of what should be bought with defense spending is at least as important as how much should be spent. And since any given defense budget can be spent wisely or foolishly, it is probably more important. This book fits neatly into the current debate on defense spending, since it addresses the question of "what for?" rather than "how much?"—surely a logical progression of the debate.

In his introduction Fallows states that his book "is designed to give the general reader better ways of thinking about defense. . . .[It] is aimed at readers who are concerned. . .but have not been steeped in the details of military policy."

Fallows has succeeded in his objective. While I disagree with some of his arguments and conclusions, he unquestionably has outlined the issues starkly and in a manner accessible to the nonspecialist.

Fallows pursues three themes. The first is that national defense is in danger of losing touch with the facts and instead being governed by theory. The second is that war is different from other things people do and must be understood on its own terms. A corollary of this is that soldiering is not "just another job." The third is that the important military questions have little to do with the amount of money the nation spends on defense but rather with the things for and on which the money is spent.

These three themes are interwoven, but Fallows cites specific examples to illustrate each. The examples fall into several categories. The most important are the "managerial" approach, an overemphasis on high technology, and the "civilianization" of the armed forces.

By the "managerial" approach, he means an emphasis on efficiency rather than effectiveness. A manager is concerned with internal criteria of smooth organizational functioning, rather than with external criteria of getting the job done. As someone once put it, managerial efficiency concentrates on turning an expensive defeat into an inexpensive defeat. Both, of course, are unacceptable; it is the noun, not the adjective, that must be changed.

Fallows is particularly concerned about the effect of the managerial attitude on troop leadership. It shapes the way servicemen view their roles. It suggests that the military is just another job: the leaders can be concerned mainly with advancing their own careers, while the work force can be motivated by the same incentives used on a production line. This view is simply contrary to everything military history teaches.

I agree with Fallows regarding the pernicious effects of the managerial attitude on both officers and enlisted men. It has done untold damage to America's military readiness. Although Fallows lays the blame for it on Robert McNamara, who undoubtedly deserves a lot of blame, the problem goes back further than that. Eisenhower's defense secretary, "Engine Charlie" Wilson, contributed to it, and some of the roots can be traced to World War II and the civilian leaders who occupied high-level decisionmaking posts.

Fallows's indictment of high technology includes several aspects. There is the view that high technology is a "magic weapon" that can overcome the disparity in numbers faced by American troops. There is the problem that high-technology weapons are unreliable and so spend most of their life in the repair shop. Finally, there is the problem that high-technology weapons are more expensive than simpler weapons. We thus buy fewer of them and find we can't allow the troops to practice with them. When a single antitank rocket costs $10,000, clearly we can't allow every soldier to fire one every week to remain proficient.

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Here, I have to disagree with Fallows. True, high-technology weapons have often been oversold as magic cures for being outnumbered. Once fielded, they have turned out to be poorly designed or to have conceptual flaws that make them worthless. As an example, Fallows cites the TOW antitank rocket, which requires the gunner to expose himself to enemy

© Diana Walker
James Fallows

fire for a full 10 seconds while guiding the rocket to its target. No soldier in his right mind would do such a thing, and the weapon is likely to be thrown away rather than used in combat. But the remaining charges are a bum rap.

There is nothing inherently unreliable about high-technology devices. The problem has been that not enough money is allocated for testing the devices, and feeding the test results back into design changes, during weapons development. "Testing" is all too often perfunctory, and the first real test the weapon receives is when it is issued to the troops. As should be expected, it doesn't work. Modifying the entire production run is too expensive. So the troops are left with an inadequate weapon.

But the problem is lack of testing, not high technology. At a more fundamental level, the problem is that people can't get promoted for proving that a design is no good. There are strong disincentives for adequate testing.

The notion that the expense of high-technology weapons prohibits adequate training with them sounds plausible—but it's not that simple. In the 1950s, most pilots did their "proficiency flying" in World War II relics that were (by today's standards) cheap to fly. Even then, Congress and several administrations tried to cut the cost of proficiency flying. The services reduced the number of pilots and whittled away at the number of flying hours required annually of each pilot. By the early 1960s, pilots in certain assignments were even excused from flying but retained their flying pay. Even if airplanes were redesigned to be cheap and plentiful today, the budgeteers would still try to cut the number of flying hours.

Fallows correctly identifies "civilianization" as a serious problem. A military organization cannot be run like a factory or a university. It must establish bonds of loyalty among its members, both vertically and horizontally. If an army is to succeed at military tasks in wartime, it must be run as a military organization even in peacetime.

Fallows attributes "civilianization" to the "volunteer army," recommending the draft as a way of curing the problem. In fact, civilianization didn't start with the volunteer army but can be traced back to the Doolittle Board of 1946.

The board was an outgrowth of the *draftee* army of World War II. Many military practices that had been acceptable in a voluntary and professional force were deemed unacceptable in an army of draftees, so the board was instructed to "democratize" the armed forces. It produced a wide range of recommendations. Some of these, such as abolishing the salute, were not adopted. Others, such as the optional inclusion of enlisted men on courts martial when the defendant is an enlisted man, were adopted.

The merits of the various recommendations of the Doolittle Board are not at issue here. The point is simply that the trend toward civilianization of the military goes back more than 30 years. We are now seeing the fruits of that trend, but it is incorrect to blame them on the volunteer army and thus to think that a return to the draft would solve them.

The pre–World War II army was the most professional army the United States ever had. This was the army that produced Eisenhower, Patton, Marshall, MacArthur, and the other "great captains" of World War II. It was a completely volunteer army. The Marines are one of our most professional fighting forces; they have a tradition of being volunteers. The French Foreign Legion is one of the world's most professional fighting forces; it has always been a volunteer service. There is no necessary conflict—and in fact there has historically been a link—between professionalism and a volunteer army.

In summary, Fallows has identified the right problems. His solutions are not so much wrong as inadequate, usually from lack of historical perspective. Nevertheless, if you want to be informed about today's defense issues, this book is one you can't afford to miss. Just don't take everything in it as the last word.

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The State of Moral Philosophy

READING NOZICK: ESSAYS ON ANARCHY, STATE, AND UTOPIA
Edited, with an introduction and selected bibliography, by Jeffrey Paul

Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield. 1981. 418 pp. $27.50/$12.95.

REVIEWED BY J. CHARLES KING

The appearance of *Reading Nozick,* a collection of critical essays on Robert Nozick's *Anarchy, State, and Utopia,* reminds me once again how much academic moral philosophy has changed since I began to study it seriously in the late 1950s. Much of this change was the result of two books—Nozick's (1974), and *A Theory of Justice* (1971) by John Rawls, who is Nozick's older colleague at Harvard.

In the 1950s, and for quite some time

before, mainstream academic moral philosophy was a bleak field indeed. There were thinkers of great intellectual ability writing about philosophical ethics at the time, but little, if any, moral disagreement found its way into their works.

One entered the field because one wondered about moral questions, but one found little serious discussion of answers to such questions. One found instead mainly discussion of "metaethics," of what sort of statements, from the point of view of linguistics and the philosophy of knowledge (epistemology), moral judgments are.

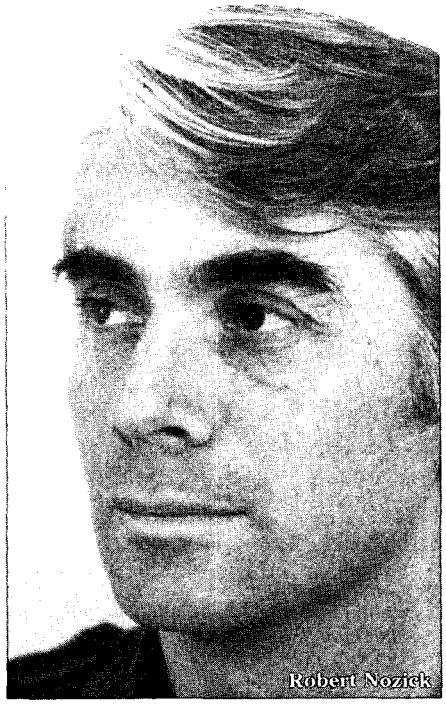
It is possible to shrug off such a situation as simply showing the ability of academics to spend time on arcane questions. In fact, the situation cut deeper, at least in my own case. Dwelling on the status of moral judgments led to the use of supposedly random examples of such judgments for discussion. It now seems to me, though, that the very trivial examples usually chosen actually helped to reinforce the belief that all serious and enlightened thinkers more or less agreed on moral questions.

While Rawls's moral beliefs were solidly within the mainstream of academic opinion, his book had the great virtue of turning discussion to the *substantive* issues of moral and political philosophy. Rawls has a theory about what social arrangements are just. While he also (as any serious philosopher must) advances an epistemological justification for his views, the primary focus is on justice.

I think it fair to say that the resurgence of interest in substantive moral and political philosophy provoked in large part by Rawls's work provided an excellent circumstance for *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* when it appeared a few years later. Now, academic moral philosophy sports plenty of moral controversy.

In 1979 I wrote in this magazine that Nozick's book was "the most important event in the recent history of the philosophy of liberty." I see no reason to change that assessment. While *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* has been the subject of much hostile criticism (as most of the essays in *Reading Nozick* show), Nozick succeeded in getting liberty on the agenda for discussion by professional philosophers.

Carrying on the defense of liberty cannot, however, be left to Nozick alone. Naturally, one hopes that his new book, *Philosophical Explanations,* just issued by Harvard University Press, will cement his reputation and will, thereby, help to keep his libertarian views on the agenda


Robert Nozick

of academic philosophy. Nonetheless, *Reading Nozick* reminds one of how set against liberty the philosophic mainstream is and of how much work all philosophic defenders of liberty still have before them.

Jeffrey Paul has made an interesting selection from the great mass of critical literature on *Anarchy, State, and Utopia.* His introduction is well-written and should be very useful, as will his very good bibliography, to those who need a basic orientation in approaching Nozick's work.

Paul had very difficult choices to make in selecting essays for inclusion in this collection, and it would be churlish to spend much time debating his choices. It is unfortunate, however, that one may read these essays without realizing just how nasty some of the early reviews of Nozick were. I think, for example, of Brian Barry's comments in *Political Theory* or David Lyons's "Rights against Humanity" in the *Philosophical Review* as particularly reprehensible instances. The personal moral rebukes, both explicit and implicit, in those pieces showed just how much Nozick had bothered the leftward-leaning academic establishment.

In thinking of the articles included here, I was struck by three broad issues that are central to assessing *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* and need even further discussion.

One section of the book is devoted to Nozick's very complex and inventive attempt to justify "the minimal State" (which protects its citizens against violations of their rights to life, liberty, and property but otherwise is a "hands-off" government) against the anarchist. Three very interesting critiques of Nozick's argument are included, one by Paul himself. Nonetheless, I continue to think that Nozick's position on this question awaits a well-integrated critical assessment.

Nozick argues that from a state of nature a minimal state would arise by steps that in no instance violate anyone's rights. In arguing this, he has recourse to many very complex and technical points, particularly in regard to compensation and risk. Thus, the problem for critical evaluation is to keep the overall significance of the argument clear while sorting out the technical details. One hopes that *Reading Nozick* might spur new effort in this direction.

One item that has given particular delight to Nozick's critics is his failure to include in *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* a full explanation and, mostly, defense of his view of individual rights. Nozick assumes for working purposes that individuals have roughly Lockean natural rights (those outlined by the British thinker John Locke and incorporated by the Founding Fathers into the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution). The argument of his book went on from there to set out how such rights would justify the existence of a State (contrary to the anarchists) and also limit the State to a very few functions. In spite of the fact that Nozick explicitly says that he leaves the establishment of these rights for another time, his critics have consistently harped on it. One of the best-known criticisms of his book is entitled "Libertarianism without Foundations" (an essay by Thomas Nagel in-

> Almost all of these writers are victims of the dream of having power to make the world as they want it.

cluded in *Reading Nozick*).

In order to blunt this criticism, Paul has included an essay by Nozick in which he does deal with fundamental questions of moral principle—namely, his well-known criticism of Ayn Rand's philosophical defense of her ethical views. Then, he also includes three articles that in one way or another attempt to support some version of the Randian claim that an individual's own life is his ultimate standard of value.

All three articles are well worth reading even though they are far from convincing me that the concept of life provides the philosopher's stone for constructing the foundation of natural rights. I think, however, that one may wonder if Paul was well advised to include this side dispute on Randian ethics rather than four more articles on *Anarchy, State, and Utopia,* which is what the subtitle says his readings are about.

The most interesting section of Professor Paul's collection is the long fourth part devoted to critical reaction to Nozick's entitlement theory of justice, or, in simpler terms, his defense of capitalist property rights. It is impossible and unnecessary to pick particular essays for discussion. What one sees here is the depth of the rejection of property rights by the philosophical mainstream.

Lord Acton said that power corrupts. In the case of most of these critics of Nozick's entitlement theory, one may fairly say that the *dream* of power corrupts. Almost all of these writers are victims of the dream of having power to make the world as they want it. As their essays show, they love this dream very much! Friends of liberty have much philosophic work to do to provide counterweights to the arguments of these able and influential enemies of liberty.

It is perhaps worth noting, however, that Nozick's critics are only parrying his thrusts. None of them has a settled and worked-out view on justice. They use egalitarian intuitions to counter his claims, but the naiveté of their own trust in the power of the State stares one in the face. Not a one of them has any idea how to tame this great power they dream of using to make the world "just." Strangely enough, they have little good to say of existing States, but they hold tightly to the hope that the power of the State can be used to do what their intuitions tell them is just. Indeed, philosophers of liberty have *much* work to do.

Finally, in considering this collection, one is drawn back to a realization of what an excellent thinker and witty writer Nozick is. For all that it provides by way of a very useful overview of his critics, reading *Reading Nozick* is neither as entertaining nor as enlightening as reading Nozick.

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Painfully Obvious

NEW RULES: SEARCHING FOR SELF-FULFILLMENT IN A WORLD TURNED UPSIDE DOWN

By Daniel Yankelovich

New York: Random House. 1981. 278 pp. $15.95.

REVIEWED BY DAVID BRUDNOY

If you have to read one more time about the three types of statistics, courtesy, I believe, Benjamin Disraeli—lies, damn lies, and statistics—you may want to throw up. For that matter, if you are subjected again to a compendium of real-life case studies, the names changed to protect somebody or other, you may want to throw out your Studs Terkel, too, and that would be a great shame.

There is merit in the statistical as in the anecdotal approach to almost any subject; sometimes there is merit in both at the same time. For instance: 43 percent of the respondents indicated that their orgasms were better now than when they were first married, and as "Hilda" said: "My Sam, now let me tell you about Sam. . . ." With due respect to Shere Hite, who so overwhelmingly combines the statistical and the anecdotal methods in her new hernia-inducing tome, this about male sexuality, it is all just a bit much. It is all very "scientific," of course, if you squint and don't worry too much about the flaws in methodology, the irritation to the brain that comes from trying to reconcile acceptance of a minuscule sampling, gathered neither randomly nor "scientifically" but catch-as-catch-can, with that abiding faith in the power of tables and graphs and charts of, broadly speaking, statistics.

One thirsts for breathtaking opinion, for broad, sweeping generalizations arising from a fertile mind, culled from lengthy observation, ruminated upon, then gracefully put forward. One longs, speaking of the face of America, for Tocqueville, who, alas, died some years ago. The age of Martin Van Buren had Tocqueville; the Age of Reagan has Daniel Yankelovich. And so it goes.

Mr. Yankelovich, a pollster given in his latest book to turgid philosophizing, discerns a "cultural revolution" in America. He has found a "new American philosophy of life," following on the heels of two earlier stages, which might with no serious harm to Mr. Yankelovich's thesis be defined, in capsule, as the outgrowth of the Puritan world view and the subsequent introspective era just now shriveling. The author has rather convincingly shown the limits of what he calls the "self-fulfillment" approach to life, though William Hamilton's cartoons in the *New Yorker* have for years (actually from the days, two decades ago, when we were classmates at Yale and his drawings appeared on campus) been ribbing precisely that approach.

What seems like billions of words pass before us as Mr. Yankelovich makes the obvious unmistakably obvious. There is only so far one can go with white wine and cheese and biodegradable peanut butter; there is a terminal point to the satisfaction to be found in the endless, maybe beginningless, inward glance. There is—Mr. Yankelovich's statistics

and his dreary, albeit not utterly boring little vignettes of "Margaret" and "Sara Lou" and "Miguel" and so on, show us—a dead end to all that. Even those who tingle at the vocabulary of individualism might not always enjoy saying it out loud, but we, too, recognize some gap, perhaps some chasm, in lives devoted entirely to Me.

Our author has discovered, somewhat to his own surprise, surprisingly, that "people express a longing for connectedness, commitment and creative expression," along with a "disenchantment with self-absorption."

Good Lord, what a bother! We don't trust our government—surprise?—and we don't trust many of our other major institutions, either. Again: surprise? No surprise.

Our generations are and in future will be even more at war or at least in conflict with each other. If anyone has any doubt at all about the cultural conflicts that beset us, consider the rise of the Moron Majority and its embrace, heartily or with minor, picky exceptions, by virtually every conservative organization, publication, and noise maker. Mr. Yankelovich doesn't say this, but it might as well be said: the loathsome New Right arises from the same soil as the loathsome New Left, from, that is, dissatisfaction with the ethos of the moment—in the case of the New Left, from abhorrence of Ike-era complacency; in the case of the New Right, from detestation of the free-wheeling, seemingly valueless, and manifestly self-centered orientation of many among the sprightly trend-setters of the recent, the very recent days.

If one can without No-doz make it to the final pages of Daniel Yankelovich's book, one will be able to make what one can of a dozen or so paragraphs of mind-numbing vagueness. Permit an abbreviation of them: The '80s are going to be a bitch of a decade. We find our institutions rotting. We're on the road to an anarchy of institutions. We might become gloomy and begin to despair about all this. But we needn't get blue—we can Get Committed. Permit now an extended quotation, which, as the centerpiece to the medium-size magazine article that this large book ought to have been, could as well suffice for a review:

We need new rules to break up the rigid segmentation of American life. Why should people who are still healthy and vigorous at sixty-five retire totally from work and their involvement in everyday life? We need them to pull their own weight. Why should postsecondary education be confined to adolescents who, fatigued with school, are least *well equipped to benefit from it? Why shouldn't people 'retire' for a few years or go back to school in their productive middle years?*

We need new rules to encourage people to channel their creativity away from themselves and back onto the concrete tasks that need doing in the new era—creating new forms of energy, taming technology, inventing new industries, creating new jobs, competing more effectively with the Japanese and Germans and Koreans, rebuilding the American infrastructure, reaccumulating capital, launching new . . .

And you can fill in the rest. It is all mush anyhow, either dubious, arising from the open-endedness of the pollster's queries, or so obvious that you know it already.

New Rules took a lot of trees to produce. Knock on wood. You don't have to read the bloody thing unless your idea of an uplifting time is S&M—the sadism of the pedant-preacher-philosopher, the masochism of the one who asks for it.

David Brudnoy, a contributing editor of REASON, *is host of a New England-wide radio talk show, critic-at-large of Boston's* CBS *station, and a syndicated columnist.*

Taking Liberties With the Constitution

ECONOMIC LIBERTIES AND THE CONSTITUTION

By Bernard H. Siegan

Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1981. 383 pp. $19.50.

REVIEWED BY DOUG BANDOW

American judicial thought took a giant step forward in 1972 when the US Supreme Court declared that

the dichotomy between personal liberties and property rights is a false one. Property does not have rights. People have rights. The right to enjoy property without unlawful deprivation, no less than the right to speak or the right to travel, is in truth a "personal" right . . . a fundamental interdependence exists between the personal right to liberty and the personal right in property.

Unfortunately, as Bernard H. Siegan exhaustively details in *Economic Liberties and the Constitution,* American jurisprudence has yet to match its rhetoric. The abrupt abandonment in the early 1940s of review of economic and social legislation continues, leaving fundamental economic rights at the mercy of selfish and perverse government intervention.

Siegan argues—often eloquently, always persuasively—that such judicial abstinence should be reversed. He points out that there is no need for a constitutional amendment to open the way for "economic acts between consenting adults" (to borrow the phrase coined by philosopher Robert Nozick). The Court now protects liberties that it deems fundamental; so, what is needed is "a better allocation of judicial concern" to protect the rights to use and dispose of property, enter into a business or profession, and contract for goods and services.

This reallocation of concern would increase what Siegan describes as "negative" judicial power, where the courts veto "legislative encroachments on liberty." And it would eliminate "affirmative" judicial power, where the courts become "another producer of laws and expander of government."

Siegan amasses a wealth of historical evidence, philosophical principles, and pragmatic arguments to demonstrate that the purpose of the judiciary was, and remains, "the preservation of liberty." The judicial branch is to provide redress for *all* those adversely affected by legislative and executive actions:

Justices are not intended to be government agents, furthering the interests of the executive and legislative branches in their disputes with citizens . . . . A judicial system more concerned to protect the power of government than the freedom of the individual has lost its mission under the Constitution.

Siegan examines the historical context of the Constitution, concluding that America's experience with taxation, regulation, and confiscation during the colonial and Revolutionary War periods

property and commerce is essential in a state dedicated to maximizing freedom." The Constitutional Convention debates demonstrate that the Constitution was intended to so maximize freedom and explicitly to protect individuals' economic as well as other activities from interference. And courts then regularly protected economic liberty, principally relying on natural rights and the due process clause of the Constitution.

This being the case, Siegan points out that the courts had "no authority to eliminate constitutional protection for economic liberties." Their role is not to make a political decision to jettison disfavored liberties.

Indeed, the speed with which the courts eviscerated constitutional protection for economic liberties was unprecedented and resulted, not from consistent and principled jurisprudence, but from constant and unprincipled policymaking. The US Supreme Court still protects "rights"; it has merely changed the "rights" that it protects.

But suppose the Court *had* sought a principled reason to abandon economic liberties? None exists, argues Siegan. To the oft-stated contention that the Constitution is outdated, he replies:

The Constitution speaks to the general political condition of the human species—a condition that has changed little if at all since the eighteenth century. The Framers' major concerns about the distribution, excesses, and abuses of political power are as pressing today as they were two hundred years ago. Their desire to secure individual liberties remains as compelling a concern as ever.

Moreover, as the Supreme Court itself argued in 1972, the distinction between economic and civil/political rights is false. Only access to underlying economic resources can guarantee political rights. As Siegan points out, "A free society cannot exist unless government is prohibited from confiscating private property. If government can seize something owned by a private citizen, it can exert enormous power over people."

Empirical evidence supports this contention. The New York-based organization Freedom House annually surveys the status of political freedom and civil liberties throughout the world and consistently finds that many of the capitalist and capitalist/socialist countries—but *none* of the socialist countries—are free or partially free.

Indeed, by whimsically protecting some economic rights on noneconomic grounds, the Court has implicitly acknowledged the importance of economic rights. For example, to the extent that advertising is protected, it is as "free speech." Distributing contraceptives is protected as "privacy." Yet these

Bernard Siegan

are economic rights, which happen to be part and parcel of the human rights that are more widely recognized today.

Turning from principles to practice, Siegan convincingly demonstrates that "because much welfare and regulatory legislation has proved economically harmful, judicial review of such legislation serves the pragmatic interests of society." He briefly reviews more than 50 studies, surveying the wreckage left by government regulation in areas such as transportation, energy, banking, and broadcasting. The results are uniformly disastrous, with benefits reaped by special economic interests, and costs borne by everyone else—particularly the poor and disadvantaged. For example:

- *Transportation.* Airline regulation kept ticket prices high, prevented new, small carriers from entering the market, and kept established, often inefficient carriers in business. Taxicab regulation has established protected local monopolies, keeping rates high, outlawing lower-cost alternatives such as jitneys, and, through the high cost of taxi licenses, denying lower-income people a chance to break into the business. Federal regulation of railroads, interstate moving companies, and trucking firms has been blatantly anticompetitive, greatly increasing prices for all consumer goods transported around the country and shoring up the profits of a small number of well-established firms.
- *Banking.* Regulation has erected barriers to entering into the banking business, reducing competition and artificially increasing industry profits.
- *Broadcasting.* Federal regulation has restrained competition, fostered monopoly profits, deprived viewers of a variety of alternative programs that might otherwise have been offered, and in many respects infringed on First Amendment rights (showing, once again, how intimately twined are economic and civil rights).
- *Housing.* Building codes and zoning restrictions have greatly increased housing costs and reduced the supply of housing without appreciably increasing the quality of housing or substantially changing land-use patterns from those found in the absence of zoning (for example, in Houston).

Rather than enter in with its own brand of intervention, concludes Siegan, the courts should be trying to lift the burden of government regulation. "The courts' traditional role in protecting individual rights remains the most promising judicial means of reducing the burdens of economic inequality."

Finally, Siegan persuasively argues that there is no reason that legislatures should be the final arbiters of socio-economic policy any more than they should be of free speech policy. In a society governed by shifting and at times intolerant majorities, discrete economic, racial, national, and political minorities "can be the victims of perverse, arbitrary, and capricious" discrimination.

In fact, he suggests that legislatures do not reflect the will of their constituents, because special-interest groups effectively apply concentrated pressure to gain special favors. Nor are many legislatures competent enough to draft legislation that is careful to respect individual rights. As the credibility and legitimacy of the legislature thus falls, "the need for the judiciary to safeguard liberties of those affected by legislation increases."

Siegan has written a vitally important book that is sure to ignite an impassioned legal and philosophical debate. In the 200 years since the formation of our republic,

political power has replaced economic power in the marketplace. Influence has become more important than ability; access, more important than service; and votes, more important than rights.

Whatever the noble purposes of those who wield it, this political power is used to pauperize economic minorities, just as it has been used to muffle political dissent and stifle social diversity. Thus, the reason—the necessity—for protecting economic liberty is no less than that guaranteeing political and civil liberty. As Siegan so eloquently concludes an eloquent book, "The rewards of liberty are vast and unpredictable."

Doug Bandow is a lawyer and free-lance writer. He is currently at the White House.

Herbert's Dune It Again

GOD EMPEROR OF DUNE

By Frank Herbert

New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1981. 411 pp. $12.95.

REVIEWED BY PATRICK COX

The Dune series—it will take a while to get over calling it the Dune trilogy—is the work of a 60-year-old ex-journalist, Frank Herbert. *God Emperor of Dune* is Herbert's 24th book in 25 years and the fourth book chronicling the future history of the planet Arrakis known as Dune.

The first and most critically acclaimed book of the series, *Dune,* hit the best-seller list in 1965. *Dune* and Herbert broke out of the science fiction market and into the mainstream together. Yet the move was not made by producing something less than science fiction. *Dune* won the Hugo, the sf award voted by fans, as well as the Nebula Award given by sf writers.

Dune initiated the saga of the Atreides family, one of the galaxy's competing royal lineages. As the book starts, the family is taking over administration of the brutal desert planet Arrakis, peopled by the Fremen, a sort of ultimate technological bedoin society that has elevated "the survival of the fittest" to a religious code. The Fremen are apparently descendants of Arabs, for their language is largely Arabic in form. Forged through the rigors of the desert into a tough and honor-bound cadre of warriors, the Fremen are eventually made the core of the Atreideses' military power.

At the center of the Fremen faith is the melange spice and the giant sandworms that produce it. Melange is the most valued substance in the universe. Besides extending life spans many times, it is crucial to interstellar navigation and a sacred tool used by the conspiratorial matriarchal priesthood known as the Bene Gesserit. The sandworms, Shai-Hulud, are 400 meters long in adult form and must be ridden at great risk by the Fremen in their rites of passage.

Paul Atreides, named Muad'Dib after his initiation into Fremen ways, uses the people and the sandworms to gain an absolute monopoly over the melange, the coin of the realm, thereby making the Atreideses the most powerful force in the galaxy. And that's just the first book.

In the second, *Dune Messiah,* Paul Atreides's genetic heritage, the work of the Bene Gesserit, takes an important role in the epic. The combination of his breeding and the effects of melange addiction turns him into a creature with such prescience that he doesn't even miss his sight when blinded in an assassination attempt. He continues with his plan to transform Dune into an agricultural planet, a move that will further limit the production of melange and strengthen the Atreideses' power.

Amongst the many intrigues that the family must deal with is a plot by the water sellers, threatened by destruction of the water market, to overthrow their rule. At the end of the second book, Paul walks alone into the desert and his son, Leto, begins to emerge as the dominant power of the family, now extended to most of the galaxy.

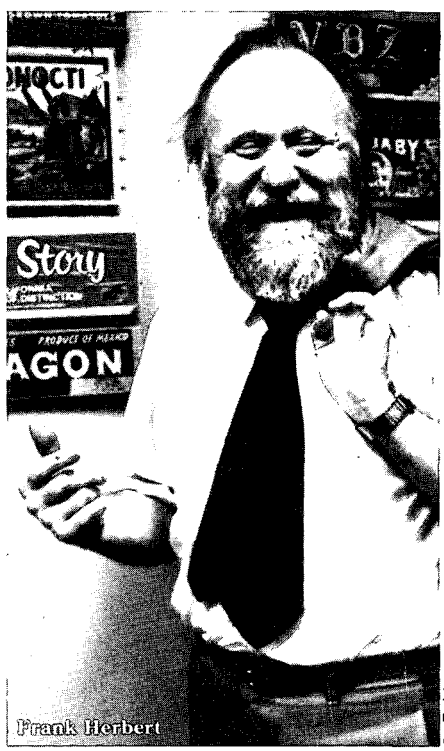
Paul Muad'Dib emerges in the third novel, *Children of Dune,* as a blind wandering prophet. Leto, in order to maintain his power in a struggle for control of the Atreides throne, merges with the larval form of the sandworms to become a human with a living protective skin.

It is remarkable that a plot that demands such a great suspension of disbelief should be a success in the mainstream of popular literature. Other successful crossover authors such as Ray Bradbury, Arthur Clarke, and Robert Heinlein usually write fiction that is essentially realistic with the exception of some event or situation that is changed for literary purposes. They represent the all-other-things-being-equal branch of sf that makes no great demands on readers unfamiliar with the clichés and styles of the genre.

Herbert, on the other hand, has created an entire galaxy based on numerous premises that must be learned and accepted along the way. One such premise is that it is possible for a person's ancestors consciously to live through certain individuals. Another is the total absence of computers in an otherwise technical universe.

It is to Herbert's credit that he has sold the incredibly complex (in retrospect) story to the public. It can only be his artistry that accounts for the success of the first three novels and now of *God Emperor of Dune.* The particulars of the plot do not alone reveal what the Dune series is "about." According to Herbert, he was inspired to do the series by his interest in the effects of power, the US Postal Service being a good example of the affected.

The Atreides family provides a fascinating case of accomplished benevolent



"made it evident that legal protection for power seekers. The royal family and court study power and its acquisition the way the Gallos study wine. They communicate easily in several complex languages via subtle hand and finger gestures unnoticeable to outsiders. Children are trained in manipulative techniques as soon as they are teachable. The Atreideses, as consummate philosopher kings and queens, struggle constantly with their desire to wield the forces of government for good without being corrupted or destroyed.

In the latest Dune book, the power theme is developed even further, perhaps to the detriment of the plot. Even by Herbert fans, the book has been criticized for a weak story line.

Leto Atreides, 3,000 years after he donned the sandworm skin, is actually being transformed into a sandworm himself. The lack of action, I think, can be forgiven in light of the delightful intellectual change that Leto, equipped with complete ancestral memory, undergoes. He becomes the center of religion because of his god-like powers of prediction and manipulation along with his huge worm shape. Leto's powers dwarf those of the predecessors.

The first three books deal with the moral and psychological dilemmas inherent in wielding power. The author's conflict between the effort to make rulers real and rulers heroes comes to a head in Leto. Finally, the only way to make the emperor a hero is to set him against himself. For example, Leto sets out to cure the universe of hero worship. The god-emperor becomes a "predator," seeking out and destroying those who are unfortunate enough to fall for his line.

As Leto's actions grow more onerous, his motives grow clearer. Early in the novel he tells an old friend: "We are myth-killers. . . . That's the dream we share. I assure you from a God's Olympian perch that government is a shared myth. When the myth dies, the government dies." In the same vein, Leto warns, "Power bases are very dangerous because they attract people who are truly insane, people who seek power only for the sake of power."

These are not new thoughts, but they are well stated in context and represent a fairly sophisticated conception of politics. I wonder if the philosophical evolution of the Atreideses is not really the story of Frank Herbert's evolution. The author even turns against heroes of the earlier novels, casting unfavorable light on those previously presented as relatively unblemished. What comes across in *God Emperor* is that Frank Herbert is extremely interested in, even fascinated with, the nature of government and power, and he has managed to communicate a good deal of his passion. The reader may not agree with all of his theories (for example: one of the major causes of war is latent homosexuality that comes into play in all-male militaries), but many are thought-provoking ("Scratch a liberal and you'll find an aristocrat").

Leto's power and his plans to rid the universe of governments and restore Dune to its desert state are finally threatened by his love for a woman. The end of the book is ambiguous, almost necessitating another sequel. But that's fine—a lot of people like the series.

If you liked the first three, you'll like the new one. If you haven't read them, be careful. I read the first three in less than a week only a year ago. My work, my health, and my love life suffered. *God Emperor of Dune* got me again!

Patrick Cox, a free-lance writer, is currently working on several contributions to the science fiction genre.

Medieval World View In Modern Jargon

ENTROPY: A NEW WORLD VIEW

By Jeremy Rifkin (with Ted Howard); afterword by Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen

New York: Viking Press. 1980. 285 pp. $11.95. Bantam. 1981. $3.95.

REVIEWED BY JEFFREY ROGERS HUMMEL

Entropy looks to be emerging for the '80s what *ecology* was for the '70s: a trigger word much misused by those within and commenting on the environmental movement. Very few of Jeremy Rifkin's ideas are original, but he is an effective journalist who has readably packaged the thoughts of others in order to popularize them. As a result, those who want to deal intelligently with environmental issues will find themselves forced to delve into the esoteric subject of entropy.

In 1868 a German physicist, Rudolf Clausius, first introduced the term *entropy*. Since then, entropy has become one of the more important, albeit elusive and difficult, concepts in modern physics and chemistry. It has to do with energy conversions, with transforming energy (the capacity to do work) into work.

The first law of thermodynamics states that energy can be neither created nor destroyed but only converted from one form to another. Einstein's special theory of relativity modified this law slightly by pointing out that matter can be converted into energy and vice versa. The second law of thermodynamics states that, in an isolated system (that is, a system in which there is no exchange of either energy or matter with the outside), the only energy transformations that can occur are those that result in an increase in the entropy of the system.

Now, what is this entropy? It is a measure of the quantity of energy in the system that remains unusable because it cannot be converted. The reason it cannot all be converted is *heat*. Heat is itself a form of energy, but a strange bird among them. While nonthermal forms of energy (mechanical, electrical, etc.) can be totally converted to heat, the reverse is not true. How *much* heat energy can be transformed is determined by the relative temperatures of whatever is conveying the heat and its environment; the smaller the difference, the less energy can be extracted—or, the greater the entropy. For instance, drop an ice cube into a glass of scotch, and heat is transferred from the scotch to the ice cubes. The ice melts and the scotch cools until a uniform temperature obtains. The entropy of "the system" has increased.

Even in conversions between other forms of energy (say mechanical to electrical), some heat is created, and so some energy becomes unusable. Hence the second law of thermodynamics—that in an isolated system, energy conversions increase the entropy of the system.

Rifkin's *Entropy: A New World View* (written with the assistance of Ted Howard) would be an easy book to dismiss. For Rifkin, the second law of thermodynamics is *the* supreme law of the universe that explains everything else. Why do we have double-digit inflation in the United States today? Easy! Because entropy is increasing. Why is government getting more powerful? To contend with increasing entropy. Why do we have pollution, crime in the cities, and a rising incidence of cancer? You guessed it—entropy.

Rifkin not only explains all current social problems with entropy, but all of human and natural history. The Industrial Revolution, the invention of the cross-plow, the class differences in the materials used for clothing in 19th-century Britain, and the economic ideas of Adam Smith were all a direct consequence of the inexorable operation of what he calls the Entropy Law.

Any scientist with even rudimentary training in thermodynamics will throw this book down in disgust. One can gauge the depth of Rifkin's understanding of entropy by turning to page 33 and discovering that the popular maxims "You can't beat the system" and "It does no good to cry over spilt milk" capture the essence of the first and second laws of thermodynamics.

Rifkin's treatment is so amateurish that he cannot even keep straight the distinction between matter and energy. For example, Rifkin informs us that "if we burn a piece of coal, the energy remains but is transformed into sulfur dioxide and other gases." How interesting to learn that sulfur dioxide is a form of energy. Most chemists and physicists suffer from the delusion that it is a form of matter. They further believe that when coal is burned, the *matter* is transformed into *carbon* dioxide and other gases, while the *energy* is transformed into heat and radiation.

Rifkin commits a somewhat less obvious but no less serious blunder when he portrays statistical thermodynamics as the last-ditch effort of conservative, short-sighted scientists to deny the truths embodied in the Entropy Law. In fact, statistical thermodynamics provides the theoretical underpinning for the second law. Rifkin sustains this imaginary conflict by presenting a gross caricature of classical mechanics and coupling it with an uncomprehending objection to the very concept of statistical probability.

Typical of Rifkin's economic expertise is the following: "Contrary to the prevailing wisdom, applying more and more energy per individual in order for each person to survive is not more efficient—that is, if efficiency is properly defined as a reduction in work." The thermodynamic concept of efficiency is very different from the economic concept, but neither of them is remotely similar to Rifkin's alleged definition. Efficiency, in either case, is a ratio of outputs to inputs. In thermodynamics, it is the ratio of the total work output of a thermodynamic system to the total energy input. In economics, efficiency is the ratio between some product output and its cost input.

Measuring economic efficiency requires that product output and cost input be quantified. And since the value of any product output and its accompanying cost depend on people's preferences, any statement about economic efficiency must, in the final analysis, be grounded in people's preferences.

Rifkin's failure to grasp the nature of economic value is evidenced when he chastises economists for their inability to "get it into their heads that machines and people can't create anything." No economist has ever contended that people can create matter or energy, but the fact that people can, by transforming matter and energy, create value for themselves and others is undeniable. Taking seriously Rifkin's theory of value would force us to conclude that a Rembrandt painting is less valuable than the paints and canvas that went into its production because entropy increased during the process.

Rifkin's blindness to the preferences that underlie value leads inevitably to an arrogant willingness to impose his own tastes as universal imperatives. "Any honest appraisal," Rifkin has the gall to inform us, "is sure to conclude that most of what is manufactured in our economy is simply superfluous."

The discerning reader will be prone to disregard Rifkin's book. He parades his distrust of reason. As a result of the Entropy Law, he says, "A gut reaction...is more reliable than a reasoned decision," and "it is better to trust your instincts...than your intellect." He hates the Industrial Revolution, the Enlightenment, the Renaissance, indeed all of civilization. He waxes lyrical about the static medieval world view as compared with the subsequent mechanical paradigm and its pernicious purveyors, Bacon, Descartes, and Newton. His ideal society predates even the Agricultural Revolution—the human species was in its Golden Age when everyone was a member of small bands of hunters and gatherers.

He waxes lyrical about the static medieval world view; his ideal society predates even the Agricultural Revolution.

Rifkin would love to see a return to the idyllic hunter-gatherer existence. But the increase in the earth's entropy has been of such magnitude since the Agricultural Revolution that such a backward step is now out of the question. We will all have to settle for something less: a modern variety of subsistence, brought to us via decentralized socialism in which we once again rely solely upon the sun and, presumably, oxen for energy.

But to ignore Rifkin's book would be a grave mistake. Rifkin has thrown together the ideas of about half a dozen less-careless but less-accessible authors. Of all his intellectual precursors, the most important is Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen, who wrote the afterword for Rifkin's book. In works such as *The Entropy Law and the Economic Process,* Georgescu-Roegen has pioneered an extremely powerful, although severely flawed, thesis about the social significance of the second law of thermodynamics. Unless we take this "entropy" thesis seriously and systematically refute it, it will achieve far more influence than it merits.

Energy exists in one of two states—*available* or *free* energy and *unavailable* or *bound* energy. Every energy transformation entails the conversion of some free energy into bound energy and a consequent entropy increase. If, within a thermodynamic system, the quantity of free energy decreases, entropy necessarily

must have increased somewhere *outside* the system. Over the universe as a whole, the total quantity of free energy is continuously declining. Ultimately, in several trillion years or so, the operation of the second law of thermodynamics will bring about the heat death of the universe, in which all free energy has been converted into bound energy, entropy has been maximized, and the universe has become a homogeneous mass of gas of uniform temperature.

The significance of these facts for the human species is that all production—indeed, all human action—utilizes energy and therefore converts free energy into bound energy, increasing entropy. Once people have tapped a particular source of free energy, that energy is no longer available for human purposes.

Rifkin, following Georgescu-Roegen, sees this truth as reinforcing with ironclad immutability the case for limits to economic growth. Entropic degradation is inevitable and irrevocable. Eventually, people will deplete all possible sources of free energy. The higher the level of economic development, the greater the rate of this depletion, and the shorter becomes the expected life of the human species. Rifkin and Georgescu-Roegen want to slow human-caused entropy increases to a minimum in order to prolong the existence of the species.

Following are some of the more telling criticisms that can be made about this line of argument:

1. The earth is not an *isolated* system. At every instant in time, the earth is continuously bombarded with free energy from the sun and continuously radiates energy into space. For practical purposes, the earth can be treated as a *closed* system, one that like an isolated system cannot exchange matter with the outside but unlike an isolated system exchanges energy with its surroundings. (Strictly speaking, even this is not correct.) Because a closed system can exchange energy, the entropy of a closed system can either increase, decrease, or remain constant. Thus, it is impossible to say, *a priori,* as does Rifkin, that entropy on the earth is increasing.

2. In a subtle nuance that will escape many readers, Rifkin tries to escape the implications of the fact that the earth is not an isolated system by introducing what he calls the fourth law of thermodynamics: "In a closed [notice that Rifkin says "closed," not "isolated"] system, the material entropy must ultimately reach a maximum." Rifkin only mentions this fourth law once, in passing, but he implicitly relies on it throughout his book. This fourth law, I suspect, is the source of Rifkin's constant confusion of matter with energy.

Do not, however, strain your eyes trying to find this important fourth law of thermodynamics in any standard physics, chemistry, or thermodynamics text. Not that Rifkin made it up. No, he got it from Georgescu-Roegen—who made it up. Since the traditional concept of entropy is rigorously defined, the first question to ask about his new law is the meaning of the phrase "material entropy." How does it differ from regular entropy? Unfortunately, nowhere in any of his writings does Georgescu-Roegen make an effort to give a precise definition of it. Without such a definition, the "fourth law of thermodynamics" remains utter nonsense.

3. Because the earth is not an isolated system the entropy of the earth is not necessarily increasing. But what of the sun, the source of the earth's flow of free energy? What can the second law tell us about the sun? It is definitely true that the sun is burning out. If the sun continues to radiate energy at the same rate that it has for the 6 billion years that it has already been in existence, it will cease being a source of free energy in a little more than 30 billion years. By comparison, *homo sapiens* has inhabited the planet for no more than 500,000 years. Nothing we do can possibly affect the time horizon of the burn-out of the sun.

4. The limitations mandated by the second law are not only irrelevant to human time horizons; they are also irrelevant because of human inability to exploit all sources of free energy. Many potential sources of free energy remain untapped and possibly untappable by humans, including the energy available from lightning, from the temperature differences in the oceans, and from the eruption of volcanoes. All the earth's free energy will be dissipated, with the entropy of the earth at a maximum, when the earth joins the rest of the universe as a homogeneous gas at heat death. The human species will have encountered limitations upon usable energy well before that point.

Rifkin implicitly recognizes this objection in his section "Nonrenewable Energy," in which the Entropy Law becomes a superfluous trapping to an unoriginal discussion of the exhaustion of nonrenewable energy stocks. That the stocks of such energy sources as coal and petroleum are finite is an obvious fact. Introducing the second law of thermodynamics adds nothing to its importance or implications. Talking about entropy when one is really concerned about finite stocks of natural resources merely obfuscates the dialogue.

5. Even if none of the above criticisms held, all Rifkin would have succeeded in proving is that energy is scarcer than generally believed—so scarce that one generation can only prosper at the expense of a future generation. Since scarcity is one of the fundamental concepts of economic theory, economics is perfectly capable of dealing with this extreme case.

Rifkin again displays his economic ignorance when he charges "that there is no way to allow for the needs of future generations in classical economic theory." In fact, there is a great body of economic work explaining how, through the operation both of the interest rate and of entrepreneurial profits for speculators who predict future scarcities, the market provides the most efficient allocation of resources over time. Rifkin's claim that "no one speaks for future generations at the marketplace" is simply wrong. If he were really correct about the dire implications of the Entropy Law, then instead of fleecing the public with stupid books, he could make a fortune speculatively withholding energy sources for future generations—and provide a bona fide public service while at it.

In conclusion, Rifkin's book, in its attempt to integrate the physical sciences with the social sciences, ends up abysmally feeble in both areas. Rifkin's crank presentation of the "entropy" thesis, as well as Georgescu—Roegen's more-respectable version, is nothing better than pseudo-science. It will be a genuine misfortune if the environmental movement adopts the "entropy" approach. The only possible outcome will be a neglect of legitimate environmental concerns as the environmentalists discredit their movement.

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Reregulation

(Continued from p. 40.)

sents the industry, welcomed his selection.

Eighteen months ago the commission unanimously endorsed the concept of shrinking channel spacing in order to permit more stations. The National Association of Broadcasters, the industry's lobbying organization, bitterly opposed this plan. Since the FCC approved the plan, which would have made the western hemisphere consistent with channel spacing in the rest of the world, three commissioners who strongly supported the plan have left the FCC. With these commissioners gone, Fowler has led the FCC to a four-to-two vote to reverse the decision.

The broadcast industry is quite happy with this change, but, in the absence of more competition, the public will be the loser. Some have estimated that, had deregulation continued, as many as 1,400 new stations providing more variety to the listening public would have been possible.

On the other hand, Mr. Fowler has advocated the elimination of the Fairness Doctrine and equal-time rules regarding political candidates' access to the airwaves. He states that he is in favor of competition and has no intention of protecting existing broadcasters. Nevertheless, he has expressed some reservations about a proposal to permit more VHF television stations. And the *Wall Street Journal* (June 9, 1981) quotes the new chairman as stating, shortly before he took office, "If introducing 30 more radio stations into a particular market erodes the broadcasters' economic base so they can't afford to produce news and public affairs shows anymore, is that in the public interest? In some places, it's hard for broadcasters to do well. It's been very tough to survive, you know, because there are already too many of them." These statements indicate a total absence of understanding of the competitive process and the benefits of competition.

To Republicans, deregulation means reducing the cost of regulation to industry. While this is no doubt a worthy goal, so is the goal of reducing the cost of regulation to consumers. But when the regulation in question is regulation that aids industry by reducing competition and thereby increasing prices, it seems to be welcomed with open arms. Increasing the profits of the trucking industry by restricting competition is not the same thing as promoting *free enterprise*; it is promoting the interests of *the industry*. It is bad enough that opponents of economic freedom confuse the two; when those who profess an appreciation of the free market do the same, it is a sad day indeed for the millions of people who, know it or not, stand to gain from the unregulated workings of a free marketplace: consumers. ◧

Thomas Gale Moore, director of the Domestic Studies Program at the Hoover Institution, is the author of numerous studies on transportation regulation.

Infant Formula

(Continued from p. 45.)

tion" haven't existed in Communist countries for decades. Of the nine nations surveyed for the WHO report on breast-feeding, only in Hungary—the one Communist nation included in the survey—were the majority of mothers under the impression that infant formula is better than breast milk for their babies.

Of course, the WHO marketing code is right in line with a widespread general suspicion of the worst about the operations of private entities. Waiting in the wings in contemporary international law is the "New World Information Order," which is to journalism what the code is to infant formula marketing. Under the New Order, national governments would control the flow of news out of their countries to ensure that the information is "accurate and unbiased"—just as they are encouraged to do with infant feeding information.

The underlying premise here is that government knows best. Article 4.1 of the WHO code makes this point explicit: "Governments should have the responsibility to ensure that objective and consistent information is provided on infant and young child feeding for use by families and those involved in the field of infant and young child nutrition. This responsibility should cover either the planning, provision, design, and dissemination of information, or their control."

The dangers inherent in such a provision were pointed out in testimony before Congress by Dr. George Graham of the Departments of International Health and Pediatrics at Johns Hopkins University. "No matter how it is read," said Dr. Graham, "this article [4.1] is proposing prior government censorship of scientific and health information: in free countries such shackles are totally unacceptable, even where governments might have a great deal of expertise on the matter. In many developing countries no such wisdom exists in the government: the article is an open invitation to arbitrary imposition of ideas and to the denial of access by the public and health personnel to dissenting opinions or evidence."

When government control of the flow of news information was actually put on the international table this past year, there was an immediate hue and cry throughout "the free world." Some even ventured to suggest that it is not only our revered tradition of freedom of the press but the interests of the people in the Third World that counts against such a proposal. Yet the same people are perfectly willing to doubt the capacity of Third World mothers to assess the feeding alternatives available to them and make choices suitable to their situation.

One needn't be against breast-feeding to see that the WHO code is a misguided attempt to force that alternative on Third World mothers. The Human Lactation Center, for example—a Westport, Connecticut-based group devoted to research, teaching, and publishing about breast-feeding—is thoroughly opposed to the WHO code. UN delegates from both developed and developing nations want "governmental measures and community pressures to limit the choices women have in weaning food and infant feeding methods," noted the group's publication, *Lactation Review*, when the code was first presented in 1980. But "women need more, not less, options when it comes to infant feeding."

Unfortunately for Third World mothers, that respect for individual freedom has been rare among the powers that be. ◧

James Hickel is a legislative and regulatory analyst for a consulting firm in Washington, D.C., and is working toward a law degree from American University. He has never been employed in any capacity by any infant formula manufacturer. This article is a project of the Reason Foundation Investigative Journalism Fund.

Reagan and King Canute

viewpoint

Murray N. Rothbard

In a truly pathetic display worthy of King Canute, the majority leader of the Senate, Howard Baker, and the minority leader of the House, Robert Michel, threatened Wall Street in September with credit controls, an excess-profits tax on interest receipts, and even wage-price controls if interest rates did not come down pronto. This statist manifesto from a supposedly free-market administration was not repudiated by President Reagan or any member of the executive branch.

The threat was not only despotic; it was also idiotic, because it strongly implied that a handful of Wall Streeters had for some reason conspired to keep interest rates high and thereby thwart the noble goals of the administration. What nonsense to postulate that a small group of people can control a $4-trillion bond market and a $1-trillion equity market!

The executive branch has been almost as guilty of Canute-ism. Since May, Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan, while not threatening controls, has been hectoring the bond market for not having sufficient faith in the future. Perhaps the former head of Merrill Lynch has been taken in by his own hokum about being "bullish on America" and can't understand why no one is listening.

But it is not only the Republicans who are nonplussed at the failure of their confident prediction that interest rates would plummet as soon as the Reagan budget and tax programs won their dramatic victories in Congress. For it is possible that the Friedmanite monetarists, who have been essentially calling the economic shots for the Reagan administration, will go down the tubes even earlier than the Reagan program as a whole. Monetarist dogma holds that once inflation moderates (as it has, slightly, this year), interest rates will fall sharply to keep "real" interest rates (inflation rates corrected for inflation) constant. So why hasn't this happened?

For the last decade it has been clear to economists and politicians that one important element of our chronic and worsening inflation is "inflationary expectations"—the fact that people now know deep in their bones that inflation will continue, so that they tend to spend faster and save less while prices are relatively lower. This response makes the inflation problem worse.

Successive administrations have each tried in their own way to reverse inflationary expectations but without doing anything substantial to correct the true root cause of inflation: the government's continuing creation of new money. The Johnson and Carter administrations, for example, tried "jawboning." That didn't work. The Nixon administration tried to make its anti-inflationary will credible to the public by imposing wage-price controls. That turned out to be a disaster. The Reagan administration has tried what amounts to phony but dramatic budget and tax cuts to attempt the same sort of joshing the public and the market out of their belief in continued inflation.

Actually, there was a method to the Nixon madness that was very similar to the Reagan viewpoint: to allow a breathing space for Friedmanite monetarist magic to do its work and to reduce the monetary expansion at the root of inflation. The problem is that the monetarists, even though they focus on the money supply, do not want to *stop* counterfeiting by the Federal Reserve: they don't want to end monetary inflation. In order to avoid severe recessions or any sort of dislocation, they only wish very, very gradually to reduce the rate of Fed counterfeiting (money growth), so as to gradually turn inflation around with no one the worse off.

But gradualism won't work. It's too late for all that.

The only thing that could make Reagan's anti-inflationary will credible to a shell-shocked, wisely cynical market is, as F. A. Hayek has been pointing out, to forget gradualism and slam on the monetary brakes. Only a vivid and dramatic move will work—for example, a law prohibiting the Federal Reserve from buying any more assets ever again. This would ensure a *zero* counterfeiting rate in the future. Or a return to a genuine, not phony, gold standard, where the dollar is once again redeemable in gold coin. Or abolishing the Federal Reserve. Or, better, a combination of all three. Pussyfooting and fine tuning are like shuffling deck chairs on the *Titanic*.

The monetarist predictions were wrong because inflationary expectations are subjective and cannot be encased in mechanistic statistical formulas. The "real" interest rate is high because people expect the Fed to loosen up and therefore for inflation to accelerate once again. And they are right.

What sort of a "tight money" policy is it, for example, that increases M2 (the best available statistic on the money supply) by an annual rate of 10 percent and by as much as 12 percent in the month of August? This is loose money, not tight. It signals the market that the Reagan administration and the Fed are still not truly serious about cutting down, much less stopping, the counterfeiting that is at the root of the whole inflation problem.

It is also no use for the monetarists to wail that the high and rising deficit estimates for next year have nothing to do with inflation. If the huge deficit is not "monetized" (paid for by creating new money) it is indeed not inflationary. But it raises interest rates and diverts savings from productive investment. Only a huge drop in inflationary expectations could then lower interest rates, but how could this occur when absolutely no one trusts the Fed *not* to monetize part of the enormous deficits looming ahead?

We need truly drastic cuts (*cut*-cuts, not just cuts in the rate of growth) in government spending, and we need to stop Fed counterfeiting in its tracks. Nothing else is going to work.

Murray Rothbard is a professor of economics at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute of New York and the author of numerous articles and books on economics, history, and the libertarian movement.

spotlight

From Soviet Scientist to Artistic Agitator

By Patrick Cox

Edward Lozansky was an esteemed scientist working at Moscow's Institute of Atomic Energy, where the Russian nuclear bomb was developed. Two books of his, one on physics and one math text, were widely published in the Soviet Union. Lozansky gave private lessons to promising Soviet scientists and taught physics at the prestigious Moscow Military Academy. Wealthy by Soviet standards, he was married to the daughter of Ivan Yershov, a high-level Russian general.

During the '70s, Lozansky grew more and more dissatisfied with his lack of liberty in the Soviet Union and followed closely the problems of Andrei Sakharov, the well-known Russian scientist and dissident. When Lozansky began mentioning Sakharov in his classes at the Moscow Military Academy, the KGB paid him a visit. He quit referring to Sakharov's human rights activities but not his contribution to science.

It was a time of great conflict for the physicist. Though threatened by the KGB, he distributed underground copies of Solzhenitsyn's works to his friends and students. He told REASON in his classic Russian accent, "I knew I had no chance to leave even though I hated the Soviet system, for obvious reasons, so I tried somehow to accommodate the Soviet system, not to get involved with any political activities. But at some point I realized that you cannot be quiet when some people are arrested just for expressing their opinions."

In 1975, Lozansky was fired from his positions at the Institute of Atomic Energy and the Moscow Military Academy. He decided that it was time to leave, but his father-in-law threatened him; it would not be good publicity for a two-star general if his daughter were to leave the Soviet Union. When Lozansky was threatened with arrest, he went to friends of his in the American press who let it be known that they would blow the whistle if he was not allowed to leave.

Then, according to Lozansky, the government gave him permission to leave but asked his wife to wait until after her father was promoted to a three-star general. Lozansky did not believe the story, but his wife trusted her father; so he left for the United States in 1976. Shortly thereafter, his wife's father was promoted but Lozansky says that General Yershov told his daughter "just to forget about it."

Edward Lozansky

Lozansky found work at the Laser Fusion Lab at the University of Rochester in New York. "At first I wanted to stick to science to occupy my mind and time," Lozansky says, but when the Soviet government refused to consider letting his wife and daughter leave the USSR, he started a publicity campaign.

By 1979, Lozansky's story had lost news value. He flew to Stockholm and convinced all of the Nobel Laureates that year to sign a petition addressed to Brezhnev requesting his wife and daughter's release. The world press picked up his story for the first time.

The number-one French TV talk show had him as a guest. Having previously arranged that his wife would be near a telephone, he called her in the middle of the show. With her portrait on the television screen, she sobbed and told the French people about the injustice of her life in Russia. The dramatic appearance stirred up more European support for Tatyana Lozansky's release. Even the French Communist Party demanded that she and her daughter be allowed to join Lozansky.

Edward Lozansky was beginning to attract attention not only to his situation but to his ability to get publicity for a cause. Others concerned about Soviet mistreatment of individuals approached him, asking him to expand his activities. "I realized maybe they are right," says Lozansky. So last year he formed the Committee to Free Andrei Sakharov. "Most human rights groups," he noted, "just circulate petitions, but I think I know Soviet society pretty well. They always try to use music or ballet or literature or athletes to show how great Soviet society is....this is one of the most important propaganda tools, the arts. So I decided to turn...this area against them."

He moved to Washington, D.C., found work at George Mason University in Virginia, and gathered a list of prestigious supporters. On May 19, 1981 (Sakharov's birthday), his organization put on a concert at the Kennedy Center in Washington with an orchestra made up entirely of exiled and escaped Soviet musicians.

Now, he proposes to build a memorial and cultural center in the Washington area dedicated to the millions of Russians and Eastern Europeans who have died at the hands of Communist tyranny. Ernst Neizvestny, a much-praised Russian artist now living in New York, has drawn up plans for a monument. It is to be a massive concrete slab covered with "an endless series of numbers corresponding to concentration camps in the worldwide communist Gulag." In the middle of the field, a young woman weeps beside a tomb.

All Edward Lozansky and his committee need for the project is about $7 million, offered voluntarily. But then, Lozansky admits that he has a flair for public relations work.

Walking through a hotel lobby in Denver, Lozansky talked about his nine-year-old daughter and wondered if he would ever see her again. He had just written to his wife and told her to stop waiting for him, that there was no more reason to hope that they would ever see each other again. If the memorial is built in Washington, the young woman crying over the cruelty of an inhuman government will have a special meaning for him.

(Those interested in Lozansky's project can write to Sakharov International Committee, P.O. Box 9422, Washington, D.C. 20016.)

Patrick Cox is a free-lance writer.

Photograph by Ruth Bennett

money

The East: Rising Investment Star

By Steven K. Beckner

HONG KONG—If the Asia-Pacific basin is the new frontier of investment opportunity—a proposition few would disagree with—then it is particularly so now. Throughout the region, from Hong Kong in the north to Australia in the south, securities markets are in a depressed state. Although Asian economies remain vibrant, worldwide recession and high US interest rates have had a temporarily negative impact.

Now, you may say that this doesn't sound like a very promising picture. Who wants to buy into a bear market? Not many, but who wouldn't buy in at the bottom of markets that have explosive long-term potential?

That is not to say that the bottom *has* been reached. It probably hasn't. But in the longer term, Singapore's booming property and financial sectors and Malaysia's rubber, tin, and other resources promise great things.

As for Hong Kong, the bloom appears to be off of the property speculation craze, which has always been the driving force behind the stock market. Real esate prices (and rents) continue to rise but at a much slower rate and, after discounting 15 percent inflation, are adjusting downward in real terms. Until lower US interest rates enable Hong Kong to follow suit, Hong Kong's four exchanges—soon to merge into one—are apt to remain weak.

But again, the longer-term picture is bright. The British colony's strong growth, high productivity, preeminence as a trading and financial center, and energetic development—all based on a *laissez faire*-oriented policy of low taxation and regulation—mean that Hong Kong shares have much higher to go.

Frank Heath, research director for Sun Hung Kai Securities, Hong Kong's largest broker, suggests looking at smaller property-based companies with good growth prospects and sound financial backing.

Australia is down under right now, but interest rate relief and a labor settlement should make it bounce right back up at some point. Australia is a virtual treasure house of resources, with reserves of coal, oil, gas, uranium, diamonds, and many other minerals that are only beginning to be tapped. Close to $10 billion in foreign capital is expected to flow into Australia in the coming year. Petroleum can only benefit from the resource development boom.

The important common denominator is that nearly every economy in the Asia-Pacific area, at least those with a free-market disposition, is enjoying fantastic economic growth, even in the face of current world financial and trade conditions. Hong Kong's economy has grown an average 11.3 percent over the past five years in real terms. This year, growth may end up only at 8-9 percent, but that's not too shabby. Singapore grew 10.2 percent and Malaysia 8 percent in 1980. The more mature economies of Japan and Australia are growing at a slower pace but still faster than those of Europe or North America.

The scary thing about markets in this part of the world is that they are incredibly volatile. This is due to the very fact that they are economic frontiers and are not dominated by institutional investors. The heavy degree of small, less-informed investor participation makes these markets more risky but at the same time more exciting. "Because the general level of knowledge is not as high as in a sophisticated market," notes Heath, "anyone that takes the trouble to do the research and do the work can gain an advantage, which is much harder to do in the States."

Another factor to consider is exchange rates. Right now and possibly for months to come, many Asian currencies are undervalued against the US dollar. This is certainly true of the Japanese yen and the Australian dollar. It is probably true to a lesser extent of the Singapore dollar. The Hong Kong dollar is more of a question mark. It could continue to drift lower, though not nearly enough to dent potential profits. In other words, in many cases, gains in shares or property could be compounded by currency gains.

How does one get involved? One way would be to open an account with a broker in the region. But unless you are prepared to leave trading decisions to his discretion, communication problems make that a bad choice for most people.

It is simple enough to trade through a US broker, though—preferably one with connections to a broker in the country you are interested in. Firms like Merrill Lynch and Bache have offices all over the world. Sun Hung Kai works with Bear-Stearns. Japanese brokers—Nomura, Yamaichi, Nikko, and Deiwa—operate their own US offices.

Then too, a number of Asian stocks are traded in ADR (American Depository Receipt) form in US dollars on the US market—for example, Broken Hill Proprietary of Australia, Japan's Hitachi, Toyota, and others.

Finally, and perhaps easiest, you can choose from among the unit trusts (mutual funds) that specialize in Asia-Pacific stocks. There are numerous ones managed and traded in Hong Kong, principally by Gartmore Fund Managers, G. T. Management, Jardine Fleming & Co., and Wardley. Examples are Jardine's JF Southeast Asia Trust, JF International Trust, and Jardine Eastern Trust; Wardley's Nikko Asia Fund and Japan Trust; Gartmore's Hong Kong and Pacific Unit Trust; and G. T. Management's G. T. Asia Fund.

These trusts are made up in different measure of Hong Kong, Singapore/Malaysian, Philippine, Japanese, and Australian shares. Minimum investment is expressed in terms of units (shares), ranging from 200-500 units. The units trade on the Hong Kong (and sometimes London) stock markets and fluctuate up and down like any other shares. Sales and redemption fees and management fees are calculated into the bid-ask spread, which can go as high as 6 percent. However, the performance records of many funds can make the spread seem minuscule.

The US stock market may yet shake off its doubts about Reaganomics, get some interest-rate relief, and quit diddling with the Dow Jones 1000 mark. But in the meantime, to coin a cliché: Go East, young man.

Steven Beckner is a free-lance financial writer, the editor of Deaknews, *and the author of* The Hard Money Book.

Do you have an investment question? Mr. Beckner may have the answer. Send your query along to REASON Money, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103.

(A limited number of reader questions can be answered in print; personal replies cannot be made.)

health & welfare

Aging and Health: Information Sources

By Durk Pearson and Sandy Shaw

The recent increase of public interest in aging processes and means of intervention has been reflected in a tremendous outpouring of articles and books. Most of these writings contain a good deal of misinformation (such as: "Avoid food preservatives at all costs") and must be read very selectively. Without prior knowledge of what to look for, it is not very likely that reading these would result in an increase in understanding.

There are, however, some excellent publications available on this subject. In this column, we review a selection of books that can prepare a careful, intelligent reader (but a college degree is not necessarily required) for planning a rational life-extension program.

Scientific information can be derived from primary sources (the original scientific papers, usually appearing in peer-reviewed journals), secondary sources (popular scientific books and publications that interpret the original scientific papers, for example, *Scientific American* and *Science News*), or lay sources (popular books). Lay sources tend to contain faddist or ideological thinking and, in our experience, may contain as much as 50 percent incorrect information.

Few people will want to read original scientific papers, for which some specialized background is usually required. For those who do, there is a search service available at many large university medical libraries across the country for the National Library of Medicine's MEDLARS computerized data base. For a low price (as little as $10), you can have the over 3,000 journals in the data base searched and receive a printout listing references to scientific papers that involve your area of interest.

Suppose you want to know what type of treatments have been tried in a particular type of rare cancer. You have a search done for treatments of this cancer and receive a printout (in the mail) of references. You can then follow up by going to a medical library and obtaining the papers of most interest.

The references to papers of recent years usually have a summary of the study's findings, which is of great help in determining which papers you should follow up on. Ask for abstracts with the citations when they are available.

There is a large number of excellent secondary sources about aging and its attendant health problems, as well as how to improve your health status regardless of your age. We recommend the following enthusiastically. (But just because a book or publication is not listed here does not mean that we disapprove of it or that it is no good.) Anyone seriously interested in intervening in his or her own aging processes should have a shelf of reliable references. We wholeheartedly recommend the purchase of *all* of the following books. Isn't your health too valuable to trust to hearsay and popular delusions?

Life Extension: A Practical Scientific Approach, by Durk Pearson and Sandy Shaw (New York: Warner Books, forthcoming, spring 1982). This book, aimed at scientists, physicians, and the more intelligent lay public, offers two different types of information. First, a great deal of primary scientific information is reviewed (including hundreds of references). This provides the basis for a theoretical understanding of how aging works, with particular emphasis on free-radical pathology, and of the mechanisms underlying successful intervention in aging processes in both experimental animals and humans. The other type of information is an examination and evaluation of different interventions in human aging, including self-experiments of Sandy, Durk, and other self-selected human guinea pigs. Sandy and Durk's complete nutrient and antioxidant regimen is included.

Total Fitness in 30 Minutes a Week, by Laurence Morehouse and Leonard Gross (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975, $2.95 paper). Dr. Morehouse was the head of NASA's physiological testing program for astronauts. He wanted to find out what exercise schedule would provide the greatest benefits for the least amount of time. Peak-effort exercise done for only a short time, he found, produced the most benefits in terms of cardiovascular conditioning. He suggests 10 minutes every other day of any exercise you like, as long as you work sufficiently hard for the 10 minutes. Jogging will not do it. This book has a chart showing the heart rate you should try to achieve, depending on your age, and how quickly you should work up to it.

Physician's Desk Reference (Oradell, N.J.: Medical Economics Co., annual, $17.95). We were surprised recently to hear that this is the third best selling hardback book in the country. It is very good news because there is a great deal of vital information in it for anyone attempting a life-extension program. Here is where you will find the side effects of drugs you may be using—unfortunately, doctors rarely inform their patients of side effects. You can learn about undesirable drug interactions, what dosage ranges are typically used, and how fast you can increase (or decrease) your dose.

One thing you won't find mentioned in here are unapproved uses. For example, if you look at the entry for Diapid® nasal spray (Sandoz), you will find information only for its approved use (treatment for a condition of excessive urination), not for a recently discovered unapproved use (improving memory and learning and decreasing reaction time). The federal Food and Drug Administration forbids manufacturers from providing this data to doctors, including merely sending out copies of legitimate scientific papers.

The Life Extension Revolution, by Saul Kent (New York: Morrow, 1980, $12.95), and *Secrets of Life Extension,* by John A. Mann (Berkeley, Calif.: And/Or Press, 1980, $7.95 paper). Both of these books are excellent introductions to theoretical and practical aspects of current aging science. The Mann book is more oriented to practical application. It contains hundreds of references, a large percentage of which are to the primary scientific literature. Kent's bibliography contains an amazing 750 references, well worth the price of the book by themselves. He is a veteran medical writer with a long list of published articles, many of them in a geriatrics magazine for doctors. His articles are almost invariably impeccably researched, and he

(Continued on p. 70.)

We invite questions of general interest from our readers. Send your query along to REASON Health & Welfare, Box 40105, Santa Barbara, CA 93103.
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arts & letters

movies

- **The French Lieutenant's Woman**
- **Arthur**

Reviewed by John Hospers

• For years people said there could be no satisfactory film of that greatest of English novels, Henry Fielding's 18th-century masterpiece *Tom Jones.* The reason: the most delightful feature of the novel is not the story but the author's comments on the story, the infusion of his own personality into the warp and woof of the story, placing, as it were, a frame around the events themselves, without which the film would be of far less interest.

When the film was finally made, though one missed Fielding's introductory essays on his characters and his inimitable style, one could believe that the film had provided the closest cinematic equivalent of what film itself could not render. For example, instead of the author's tongue-in-cheek essay upbraiding Tom for his sexual escapades, in which he wishes to "spare the gentle reader" the next scene but is driven to include it nonetheless in his devotion to truth, in the film our hero starts to disrobe and then throws his hat over the lens of the camera so that the audience cannot see what transpires. The film wasn't the novel, but it was about as successful an adaptation of it as a work translated into another medium can be.

For years people said there could be no satisfactory film of John Fowles's novel **THE FRENCH LIEUTENANT'S WOMAN** because the 19th-century love story was interlaced with 20th-century comments. Without that component, the film wouldn't do justice to the novel—but how to render this in film? The director, Karel Reisz, suggested a solution to scriptwriter Harold Pinter, who, with his obsession with time (he has written a screenplay about Proust's masterpiece on time, *Remembrance of Things Past,* which has never been produced), ran with the idea that found a solution: have the same actors be characters in a 20th-century story alongside the Victorian story.

This attempt to provide a cinematic

Meryl Streep is the French Lieutenant's Woman

equivalent, however, is not as successful as in *Tom Jones.* The 20th-century story is hardly interesting at all, and when it is injected—always just when our absorption in the 19th-century one is at its height—it comes as an irrelevant and annoying disburbance. Nor does the 20th-century story in any way illuminate the other one, save to add a point that everyone already knows: contemporary mores are quite different from Victorian ones. I for one would have found it much more satisfying to have just the 19th-century story and let the rest go; it wouldn't have "done justice to" the novel, but a film isn't a novel, and a film must stand on its own, not being indebted to the novel when the debt becomes a dead weight.

Nevertheless, this is a film very much worth seeing. For one thing, Meryl Streep finally has a film role worthy of her talents: her subtle shading of characterization, the quality of utter revelation in her facial expressions, are so perfect that she might as well be given an Academy Award now and have done with it. Second, the scenic backgrounds in Dorset—especially the charming coastal town of Lyme Regis, which has never lost its 19th-century quality—are rendered so superbly that one would be willing just to watch the scenery even without the characters. Third, the atmospheric touches are repeatedly achieved with imaginative master strokes, such as the scene in which he first sees her, remote and mysterious, standing veiled at the end of the pier. The Victorian settings are so beautiful to watch that one is sorry when it's over and one has to pull oneself back into everyday reality.

Most puzzling to many viewers will be the apparent implausibility of some of the heroine's actions, such as her sudden disappearance after her hopes in finding and loving him at last seem to be realized; her behavior often seems deliberately perverse, like that of a closely parallel case—Sue, in Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure.* In both cases, the behavior seems (to me at least) psychologically explainable in terms of a strongly masochistic component in the heroine's personality, the result of early and devastating frustrations; however, this avenue is not explored, and most persons unacquainted with textbooks of abnormal psychology will leave the theater wondering "why she did those crazy things." But even if they feel this way, the film will still be worth their while for transporting them into another century and a love story as searingly intense as the screen has seen since the film classics of 30 years ago, *A Place in the Sun* and *Devil in the Flesh.*

• **ARTHUR** contains many trenchant and sarcastic lines, most of which are delivered by John Gielgud, who steals the show. For the rest, the spectacle of a multimillionaire playboy (Dudley Moore) who is perpetually soused incites just enough revulsion to prevent some viewers from being convulsed with laughter at his antics. Liza Minnelli does an uncharacteristically restrained bit of acting in a role that fails to close several credibility gaps. If one-liners turn you on, this film is for you; but since the humor is almost all verbal, this made a better stage play than it does a movie.

John Hospers is a professor of philosophy at the University of Southern California. His book Understanding the Arts *was recently published by Prentice-Hall.*

health

(Continued from p. 68.)

rarely draws conclusions that go beyond the data. Both these books have much data on free radicals.

Vitamin C, the Common Cold, and the Flu, by Linus Pauling (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1976, $3.45 paper), and *Cancer and Vitamin C,* by Ewan Cameron and Linus Pauling (Palo Alto, Calif.: Linus Pauling Institute of Science and Medicine, 1979, $9.95). Both these books are musts for anyone seriously interested in improving his health.

Vitamin C is an important antioxidant nutrient that does have anticancer properties, as well as performing myriad other functions in the body: stimulating healing (it is required for the synthesis of the protein collagen in connective tissue), stimulating the activity of certain white blood cells, protecting the brain and spinal cord from damaging oxidation (these structures use active transport, requiring considerable energy, to increase the vitamin C content within individual nerve cells to 100 times that in the general circulation), and others. Many of these are discussed in the two books on vitamin C, which are well documented and cover vastly more subject matter than their titles suggest.

Prolongevity, by Albert Rosenfeld (New York: Knopf, 1976, $2.50 paper), and *Slowing Down the Aging Process,* by Hans J. Kugler (New York: Pyramid, 1974, $1.50 paper). Both of these books were written for a wider public audience than *Life Extension: A Practical Scientific Approach, The Life Extension Revolution,* or *Secrets of Life Extension.* Both of them are excellent introductions to the subject of aging processes and means of intervention. Neither is a how-to book, but they do provide generally clear and accurate information concerning reasonably current thinking in gerontology. Of course, since these were published a few years ago, they lag behind, particularly in the greatly increased recognition of the importance of free-radical pathology in aging and in newer forms of antiaging therapy. Many good references are given to the primary scientific literature.

(To be concluded next month.)

Durk Pearson and Sandy Shaw are consulting scientists, authors, and TV personalities.

A list of scientific literature on this topic is available. Send a stamped, self-addressed envelope to this publication and ask for December H&W references.

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letters

(Continued from p. 17.)

respect to perception, but on the first with respect to conceptualization. (Notice that the quote from Purpura says "begin(s)" to develop.) Is being on the first grade of actuality sufficient to establish the presence of rationality? If so, we have a potentiality argument; and it is worth noting that some Aristotelian scholars have claimed that this first grade of actuality is present in the zygote, because all the genetic material for development is contained there....

Although I am not convinced by Bissell's argument, I wish to make it clear that in my view his article was a solid piece of philosophizing. Indeed, it was better than a lot of the nonsense I have read on this issue by my "professional" colleagues.

Douglas Den Uyl
Bellarmine College
Louisville, KY

Mr. Bissell replies: Mr. Lenker attempts to categorize my disability model of child support as a form of restitution theory, which it isn't. Compensation for disability is a wider concept. While becoming disabled by someone's actions does not necessarily involve a violation of one's rights, being denied by that person the support one needs to overcome that disablement and live independently *is.*

Whether you are a rational being who is caused by someone to become disabled or a disabled being (such as a fetus) who is caused by someone to become rational, the same principle applies. The person who is *in fact* responsible for a disabled rational being's state of inability to care for itself should be held *morally and legally* responsible for that being's support.

To correct Mr. Lenker's oversimplification: I apply the doctrine of natural rights to fetuses because they are substantially the same as disabled adults whose condition was caused by another human being. I see nothing sacred or morally superior about disabled *adult* human beings. If they have the right to have their disablement remedied by the person who caused it, why shouldn't children, infants, and fetuses receive the same consideration?

Nor is my view circular. Children *do* acquire their rights before those rights can be violated. A fetus develops to the point of being human, at which point it acquires the right to life and support. Then its mother, by opting for an unnecessary abortion, violates its rights. (Prior to this, there are no rights for abortion to violate.)

Mr. Davis challenges my analogy between the dependent status of fetuses and infants. While it's true, however, that an infant's support "can come from anyone," the crucial fact is that it *must* come from *some*one, otherwise it will die. What if its mother can't find anyone else willing to provide its support? In such a case, the infant's reliance, its "biological dependence" upon its mother is *in fact* as total as when it is "just" a fetus.

If such an unwilling mother exercises the "church-step option" or the "dumpster gambit" with her baby, would Mr. Davis let her off the moral and legal hook? If so, then in my opinion there is a serious defect in his view of children's rights. If not, then why is he unwilling to extend the same protection to near-term fetuses?

Mr. Davis also places great emphasis on the fetus being "still inside the woman." Presumably, then, killing a seven-month "preemie" is murder, while killing a much better developed

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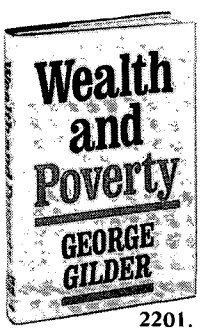

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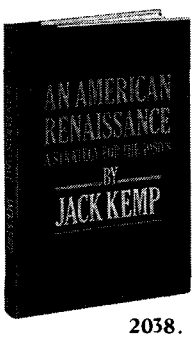

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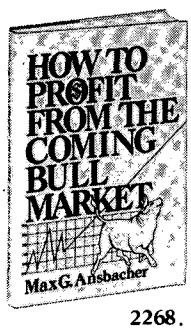

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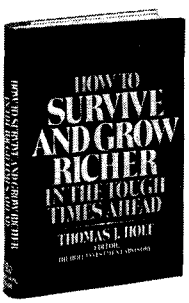

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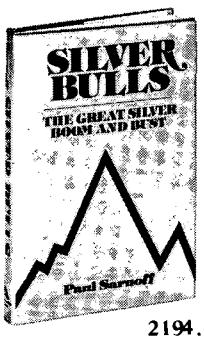

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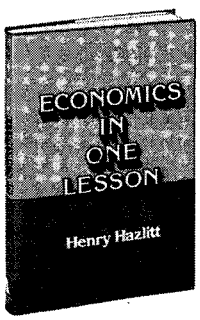

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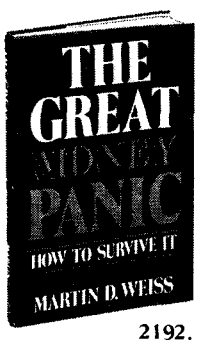

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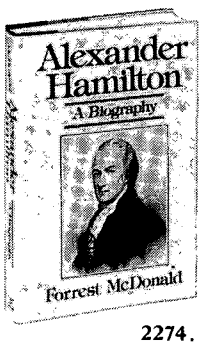

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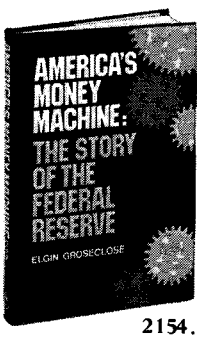

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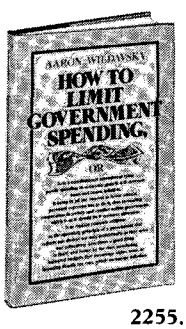

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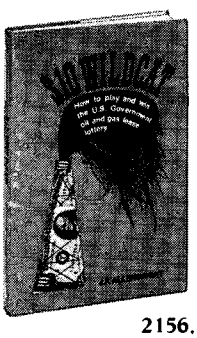

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8½-month fetus (by medical intervention) is not. This is another serious inconsistency in Mr. Davis's position.

I'm just not convinced that it's legitimate to refer to the normal biological processes of reproduction, which necessarily involve two members of the same species, as "parasitism." From Mr. Davis's own definition of "biological primacy," it is clear that a late-term fetus is *not* a parasite. The proof? Some women die in childbirth, while their fetuses are born, some of them later becoming parents to *their own*...parasites?! No, *children*!

Finally, as much as I share Mr. Den Uyl's appreciation for the power of traditional Aristotelian analysis of potentialities and actualities, I see clear limits to its usefulness. In particular, I think that his attempt to apply it to man's rational faculty—which has more than one essential characteristic—only confuses the matter. For this reason, I prefer to avoid talk about "first and second grades of actualization" until the concepts are better developed than they are at present.

Instead, here is my answer to Mr. Den Uyl's request. The essential criterion for a faculty to be a *functioning* rational faculty is that it must be both (1) able to *perform* a function which is *one* of its defining characteristics (namely, perception) and (2) able to develop further so that there is a *reasonable presumption* that it will later be able to perform the function which is its *other* defining characteristic (namely, conceptualization).

This is the standard by which I maintain that a normal post-28-week fetus is a human being, while a pre-28-week fetus is not. For the time being, at least, it seems to be the most Aristotelian—that is, logical and factual—standard we have.

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Low-Power Lowdown

In "Low Power to the People" (Aug.), Robert Docters speaks of a "limitless" radio spectrum. This is astonishing, and anyone with the slightest knowledge of the field knows better. Certainly, low-power stations have promise, but let's not exaggerate.

You describe his qualifications at the end of the article as including "an FCC third class license with broadcast endorsement," with the implication to your readers that this lends weight to his statements about radio. Maybe you'd better look up the FCC regulations and see exactly what the above license means. I'm surprised you didn't do it before citing it.

As to your magazine itself: it is one of the few things I read immediately upon receipt. You do a great job (well, except for the article cited above!).

Rinehart S. Potts
Glassboro, NJ

Mr. Docters replies: Mr. Potts objects to my statement that the range of frequencies in the broadcast (not "radio") spectrum is limitless. (To be sure: by definition the radio spectrum is limited to the spectrum lying between 10,000 and 100,000,000,000 cycles per second.) Assuming Mr. Potts disagreed with my statement, as the statement was actually printed, I am at a loss to understand his objection, because it is certainly theoretically possible to broadcast at any given cycle per second. If Mr. Potts was taking objection to an idea that we might some day be able to *use* a limitless expanse of spectrum for broadcast, he may well be correct—but that was not the point I was making. I was only saying that there is no scarcity of spectrum because we could expand the use of higher frequencies through new technology to meet any increases in demand which might materialize.

In 1918 the useful portion of the spectrum appeared to extend only to 1.5 MHz. By 1945 it was extended to 40 GHz, and today it is thought that regions stretching as high as 1,000,000 GHz are usable. Though signal attenuation and other physical characteristics of high-frequency broadcast pose some difficulties for continued exploitation of the higher spectrum, it is thought these difficulties can be overcome. In addition, more intensive use of lower spectrum is becoming more feasible.

By inference, Mr. Potts correctly observes that the third class license is a meaningless credential, similar to a CB license. However, I do not possess merely a third class license. Had Mr. Potts looked up what a third class license *with broadcast endorsement* means, he would have discovered that this license (now being phased out) is something different from a present-day third class license. I did not mean to present my third class license as an awesome document. However, to get the broadcast endorsement one had to pass an exam which required familiarity with various frequency allocations, broadcast tolerances, and wave propagation. Perhaps Mr. Potts read more into the statement than was intended.

Homeowners, Unite!

I read Theodore J. Gage's article, "Getting Street-Wise in St. Louis" (Aug.), with considerable interest. I am chairman of the City of McGrath (Alaska) Planning Commission.

As chairman and as private citizen, I have headed off at least two attempts to institute zoning. I have also been instrumental in getting the concept of restrictive covenants used instead of zoning and have led a campaign to educate people about the desirability of a homeowners' association. Although I have not met with much success in getting ahold of people who know more than I do about such associations for help in formulating them, I feel that homeowners' associations provide the key to locking out efforts by petty bureaucrats to institute the cruelest hoax of all: zoning.

Gordon E. Castanza
McGrath, AK

Have NIRE, Will Travel?

Regarding your August article on how Donald Selwyn is being mistreated by authorities in New Jersey, why not get a crew together, find a more receptive state, and help him move out? If there isn't a state in *this* nation, Mexico and some of the Caribbean islands welcome any enterprise; and when people who need help are sufficiently in need, they'll find ways to get there.

Thomas S. Booz
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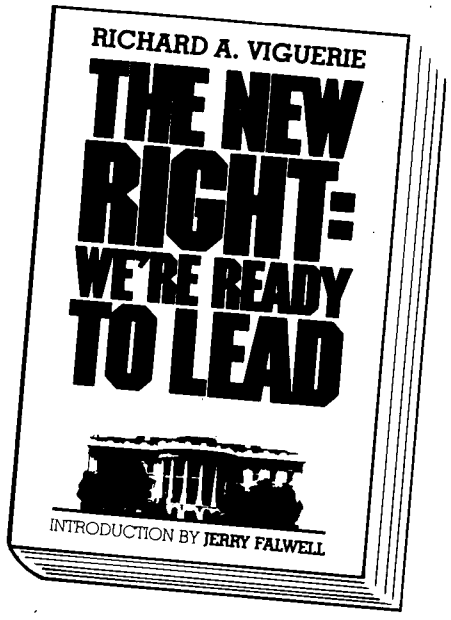

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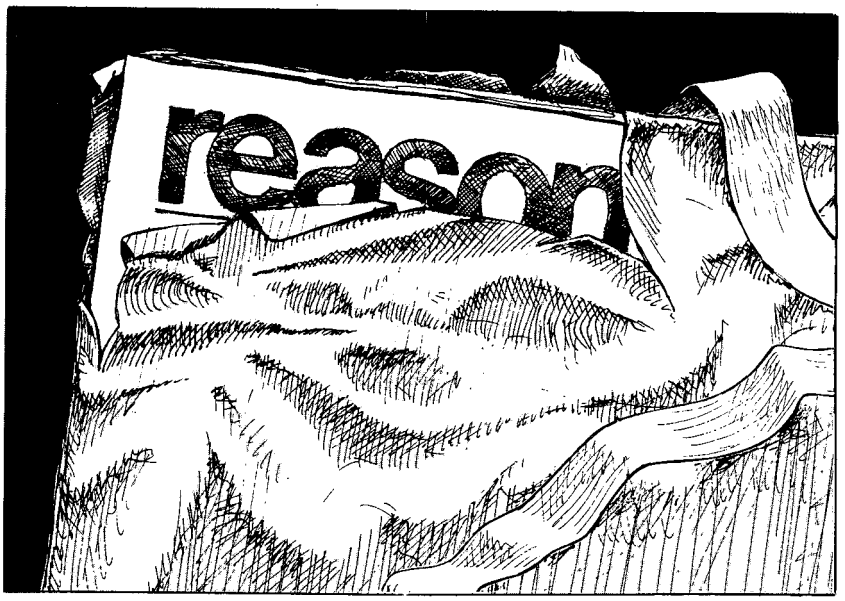

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